

T H E

Life and Death

O F

Sir Matthew Hale, K^t.

S O M E T I M E

L O R D C H I E F J U S T I C E

O F

His Majesty's Court

O F

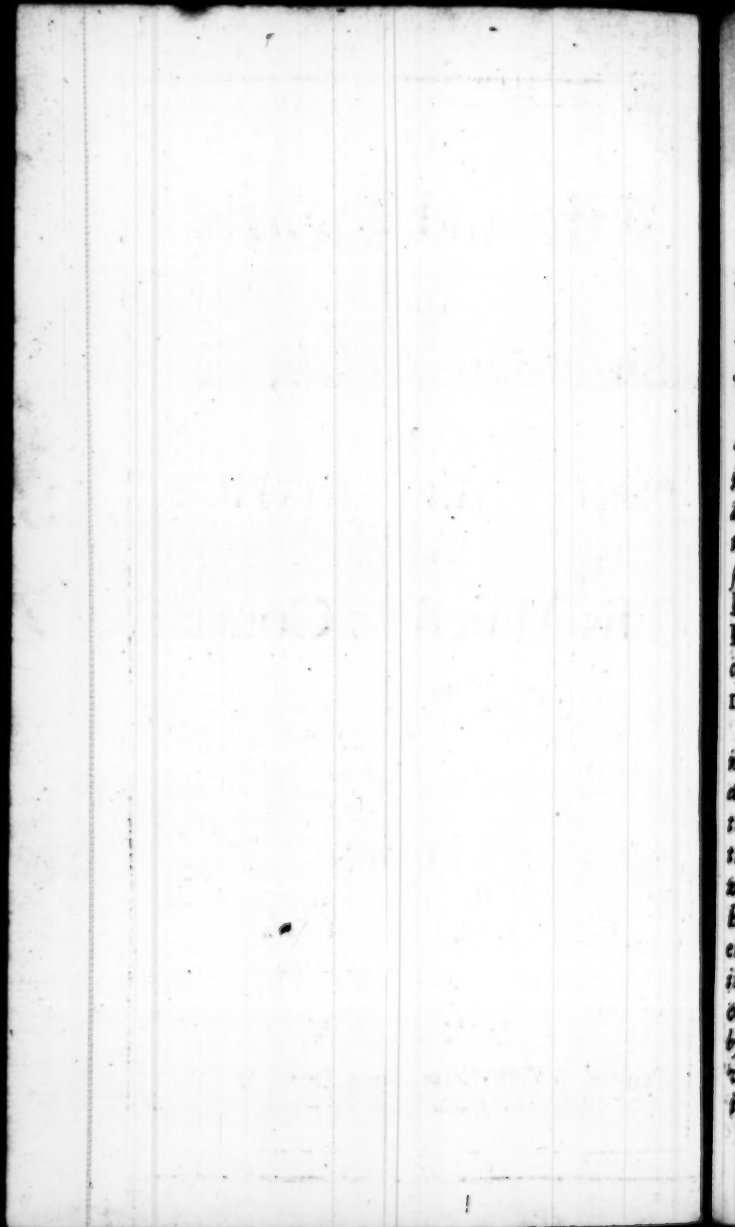
K I N G ' S B E N C H .

W R I T T E N

By the Right Reverend Father in God,
Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Sarum.

L O N D O N ,

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THE PREFACE.

NO Part of History is more instructive and delighting, than the Lives of Great and Worthy Men: The shortness of them invites many Readers, and there are such little and yet Remarkable Passages in them, too inconsiderable to be put in a general History of the Age in which they lived; that all People are very desirous to know them. This makes Plutarch's Lives be more generally Read than any of all the Books which the Ancient Greeks or Romans writ.

But the Lives of Hero's and Princes, are commonly filled with the account of the great things done by them, which do rather belong to a general, than a particular History; and do rather amuse the Reader's Fancy with a splendid shew of greatness, than offer him what is really so useful to himself: And indeed the Lives of Princes are either writ with so much Flattery, by those who intended to merit by it at their own hands, or others concerned in them: Or with so much spite, by those who being ill used by them, have Revenged themselves on their Memory; that there is not much to be built on them: And though the

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ill Nature of many, makes what is Satyrically writ to be generally more read and believed, than when the Flattery is visible and course, yet certainly Resentment may make the Writer corrupt the Truth of History, as much as Interest: And since all Men have their blind sides and commit Errors, he that will industriously lay these together, leaving out, or but slightly touching what should be set against them, to balance them, may make a very good Man appear in very bad Colours: So upon the whole matter, there is not that reason to expect either much Truth, or great Instruction, from what is written concerning Hero's or Princes; for few have been able to imitate the Patterns Suetonius set the World in writing the Lives of the Roman Emperors, with the same freedom that they had led them: But the Lives of Private Men, tho' they seldom entertain the Reader with such a variety of Passages as the other do; Yet certainly they offer him things that are more imitable, and do present Wisdom and Vertue to him, not only in a fair Idea, which is often look'd on as a piece of the Invention or Fancy of the Writer, but in such plain and familiar Instances, as do both direct him better and persuade him more; And there are not such temptations to bias those who writ them, so that we may generally depend more on the truth of such relations as are given in them.

In the Age in which we live, Religion and Vertue have been proposed and defended with such advantages, with that great force of Reason, and those

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those persuasions, that they can hardly be matched in former Times; yet after all this, there are but few much wrought on by them, which perhaps flows from this, among other Reasons, that there are not so many excellent Patterns set out, as might both in a shorter, and more effectual manner recommend that to the World, which Discourses do but coldly; The Wit and Style of the Writer being more considered than the Argument which they handle, and therefore the proposing Virtue and Religion in such a Model, may perhaps operate more than the Perspective of it can do, and for the History of Learning, nothing does so preserve and improve it, as the writing the Lives of those who have been Eminent in it.

There is no Book the Ancients have left us, which might have informed us more than Diogenes Laertius his Lives of the Philosophers; if he had had the Art of writing equal to that great Subject which he undertook, for if he had given the World such an account of them, as Gassendus has done of Peiresk, how great a Stock of Knowledge might we have had, which by his unskilfulness is in a great measure lost; Since we must now depend only on him, because we have no other, or better Author, that has written on that Argument.

For many Ages there were no Lives writ but by Monks, through whose Writings there runs such an incurable humour, of telling incredible and inimitable passages, that little in them can be believed

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or proposed as a Pattern: Sulpitius Séverus and Jerom shewed too much credulity in the Lives they writ, and raised Martin and Hilarion, beyond what can be reasonably believed: after them, Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomen, and Palladius, took a pleasure to tell uncouth Stories of the Monks of Thebais, and Nitria: and those who came after them, scorned to fall short of them, but raised their Saints above those of former Ages, so that one would have thought that undecent way of writing could rise no higher; and this humour infected even those who had otherwise a good Sense of things, and a just Apprehension of Mankind, as may appear in Matthew Paris, who though he was a Writer of great Judgement and Fidelity, yet he has corrupted his History with much of that Alloy: But when emulation and envy rose among the several Orders or Houses, then they improved in that Art of making Romances, instead of writing Lives, to that pitch, that the World became generally much scandalized with them: The Franciscans and Dominicans tried who could say the most extravagant things of the Founders, or other Saints of their Orders; and the Benedictines, who thought themselves possessed of the Belief of the World, as well as of its Wealth, endeavour'd all that was possible still to keep up the Dignity of their Order, by out-doing the other, all they could; and whereas here or there, a Miracle, a Vision, or Trance, might have occurred in the Lives of former Saints; now every Page was full of those wondrous things.

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Nor has the humour of writing in such a manner, been quite laid down in this Age, though more awakned and better enlightned, as appears in the Life of Philip Neri, and a great many more: And the Jesuits at Antwerp, are now taking care to load the World with a vast and voluminous Collection of all those Lives that has already swelled to eleven Volumes in Folio, in a small Print, and yet being digested according to the Kalender, they have yet but ended the Month of April: The Life of Monsieur Renty is writ in another manner, where there are so many excellent passages, that he is justly to be reckoned amongst the greatest Patterns that France has afforded in this Age.

But while some have nourished Infidelity, and a scorn of all Sacred Things by writing of those good Men in such a strain, as makes not only what is so related to be disbelieved, but creates a distrust of the Authentical Writings of our most Holy Faith; others have fallen into another extreme in writing Lives too jejune, swelling them up with trifling Accounts of the Childhood and Education, and the Domestick or Private Affairs of those Persons of whom they write, in which the World is little concern'd; by these they become so flat, that few care to read them, for certainly those Transactions are only fit to be deliver'd to Posterity, that may carry with them some useful piece of knowledge to after-times.

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I have now an Argument before me, which will afford indeed only a short History, but will contain in it as great a Character, as perhaps can be given of any in this Age; since there are few Instances of more Knowledge and greater Vertues meeting in one Person. I am upon one account (besides many more) unfit to undertake it, because I was not at all known to him, so I can say nothing from my own Observation, but upon second thoughts I do not know whether this may not qualifie me to write more impartially, though perhaps more defectively, for the knowledge of extraordinary persons does most commonly bias those, who were much wrought on by the tenderness of their Friendship for them, to raise their Stile a little too high when they write concerning them: I confess I knew him as much as the looking often upon him could amount to. The last Year of his being in London, he came always on Sundays (when he could go a-broad) to the Chappel of the Rolls, where I then Preached: In my life I never saw so much Gravity tempered with that sweetness, and set off with so much vivacity as appear'd in his looks, and behaviour, which disposed me to a Veneration for him, which I never had for any with whom I was not acquainted: I was seeking an opportunity of being admitted to his Conversation; but I understood that between a great want of health, and a multiplicity of Business, which his Employment brought upon him, he was Master of so little of his time, that I stood in doubt whether I might presume

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to rob him of any of it, and so he left the Town, before I could resolve on desiring to be known to him.

My ignorance of the Law of England, made me also unfit to write of a Man, a great part of whose Character as to his Learning is to be taken from his Skill in the Common Law, and his Performance in that. But I shall leave that to those of the same Robe: Since if I engaged much in it, I must needs commit many errors, writing of a Subject that is foreign to me.

The occasion of my undertaking this, was given me first by the earnest desires of some that have great power over me, who having been much obliged by him, and holding his Memory in high estimation, thought I might do it some right by Writing his Life; I was then engaged in the History of the Reformation, so I promised that, as soon as that was over, I should make the best use I could of such Informations and Memorials as should be brought me.

This I have now performed in the best manner I could, and have brought into method all the parcels of his Life, or the branches of his Character, which I could either gather from the Informations that were brought me, or from those that were familiarly acquainted with him, or from his Writings: I have not applied any of the false Colours with which Art, or some forced Eloquence might furnish me in Writing concerning him; but have endeavour'd to set him out in the same simplicity

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pligity in which he lived: I have said little of his Domestic Concerns, since though in these he was a great Example, yet it signifies nothing to the World, to know any particular Exercises, that might be given to his Patience; and therefore I shall draw a Veil over all these, and shall avoid saying any thing of him, but what may afford the Reader some profitable Instruction: I am under no temptations of saying any thing, but what I am perswaded is exactly true, for where there is so much excellent truth to be told, it were an inexcusable fault to corrupt that, or prejudice the Reader against it by the mixture of falsehoods with it.

In short as he was a great example while he lived, so I wish the setting him thus out to Posterity, in his own true and native Colours, may have its due influence on all persons; but more particularly on those of that profession, whom it more immediately concerns, whatever on the Bench or at the Bar.

THE
LIFE and DEATH
OF

Sir *Matthew Hale*, K^t.

L A T E

Lord Chief Justice of *England*.

MATTHEW HALE, was Born at *Alderly* in *Glocester-shire*, the first of *November*, 1609. His Grand-Father was *Robert Hale*, an Eminent Clothier in *Wotton-under-edge*, in that County, where he and his Ancestors had lived for many Descents; and they had given several parcels of Land for the use of the Poor, which are enjoyed by them to this day. This *Robert* acquired an Estate of Ten thousand Pound which he divided almost equally amongst his Five Sons; besides the Portions he gave his Daughters, from whom a numerous Posterity has sprung. His Second Son was *Robert Hale*, a Barrister of *Lincolns-Inn*; he Married *Joan*, the Daughter of *Matthew Poyntz* of *Alderly*, Esquire, who was descended from that Noble

Noble Family of the *Poyntz's* of *Acton* : Of this Marriage there was no other Issue but this one Son. His Grand-father by his Mother was his God-father ; and gave him his own Name at his Baptism. His Father was a Man of that strictness of Conscience, that he gave over the practice of the Law, because he could not understand the reason of giving Colour in Pleadings, which as he thought was to tell a Lye, and that, with some other things commonly practised, seemed to him contrary to that exactness of Truth and Justice which became a Christian, so that he withdrew himself from the Inns of Court to live on his Estate in the Country. Of this I was informed by an Ancient Gentleman, that lived in a Friendship with his Son for Fifty Years, and he heard Judge *Jones*, that was Mr. *Hale's* Contemporary, declare this in the *Kings-Bench*. But as the care he had to save his Soul, made him abandon a Profession in which he might have raised his Family much higher, so his Charity to his Poor Neighbours, made him not only deal his Alms largely among them while he lived, but at his Death he left (out of his small Estate which was but 100 *l.* a Year) 20 *l.* a Year to the Poor of *Wotton*, which his Son confirmed to them with some Addition, and with this Regulation, that it should be distributed among such poor House-keepers, as did not receive the Alms of the Parish ; for to give it to those,
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was only as he used to say, to save so much money to the Rich, who by Law were bound to relieve the Poor of the Parish.

Thus he was descended rather from a good, than a Noble Family, and yet what was wanting in the insignificant Titles of high Birth, and Noble Blood, was more than made up in the true worth of his Ancestors. But he was soon deprived of the Happiness of his Father's Care and Instruction, for as he lost his Mother before he was Three Years Old, so his Father died before he was Five; so early was he cast on the Providence of God. But that unhappiness was in a great measure made up to him: For after some opposition made by Mr. *Thomas Poyntz*, his Uncle by his Mother, he was committed to the Care of *Anthony Kingscot*, of *Kingscot*, Esquire, who was his next Kinsman, after his Uncles by his Mother.

Great Care was taken of his Education, and his Guardian intended to breed him to be a Divine, and being inclined to the way of those then called Puritans, put him to some Schools that were Taught by those of that Party, and in the Seventeenth Year of his Age, sent him to *Magdalen-Hall* in *Oxford*, where *Obadiah Sedgwick* was his Tutor. He was an extraordinary Proficient at School, and for some time at *Oxford*. But the Stage-Players coming thither, he was so much corrupted by seeing many Plays, that he almost wholly forsook his Studies

Studies. By this he not only lost much time, but found that his Head came to be thereby filled with such vain Images of things, that they were at best unprofitable, if not hurtful to him; and being afterwards sensible of the Milchief of this, he resolved upon his coming to *London*, (where he knew the opportunities of such Sights would be more frequent and Inviting) never to see a Play again, to which he constantly adhered.

The Corruption of a Young Man's Mind in one particular, generally draws on a great many more after it, so he being now taken off from following his Studies, and from the Gravity of his deportment, that was formerly Eminent in him, far beyond his Years, set himself to many of the Vanities incident to Youth, but still preserved his Purity, and a great Probity of Mind. He loved fine Clothes, and delighted much in Company: And being of a strong and robust Body, he was a great Master at all those Exercises that required much Strength. He also learned to Fence, and handle his Weapons, in which he became so expert, that he worsted many of the Masters of those Arts: but as he was exercising himself in them, an Instance appear'd, that shewed a good Judgment, and gave some hopes of better things. One of his Masters told him he could Teach him no more, for he was now better at his own Trade than himself was. This Mr. *Hale* lookt

On as flattery : So to make the Master discover himself, he promis'd him the House he lived in; for he was his Tenant, if he could hit him a blow on the Head : and bad him do his best; for he would be as good as his word : so after a little Engagement, his Master being really Superiour to him, hit him on the Head, and he performed his Promise ; for he gave him the House freely : and was not unwilling at that rate to learn so early, to distinguish flattery from plain and simple Truth.

He was now so taken up with Martial matters, that instead of going on in his design of being a Scholar, or a Divine, he resolved to be a Soldier ; and his Tutor *Sedgwick* going into the *Low Countries*, Chaplain to the Renowned Lord *Vere*, he resolved to go along with him; and to trail a Pike in the Prince of *Orange's* Army ; but a happy stop was put to this Resolution, which might have proved so fatal to himself, and have deprived the Age of the great Example he gave, and the useful Services he afterwards did his Country. He was engaged in a Suit of Law with Sir *Will. Whitmore*, who laid claim to some part of his Estate, and his Guardian being a Man of a retired Temper, and not made for Business, he was forced to leave the *University*, after he had been Three Years in it, and go to *London* to sollicite his own Business. Being recommended to Serjeant *Glanvil* for his Councillor, and he observing
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in him a clear apprehension of things, and a solid Judgment, and a great fitness for the Study of the Law, took pains upon him to persuade him to forsake his thoughts of being a Soldier, and to apply himself to the Study of the Law: and this had so good an effect on him, that on the Eighth of *November, 1629.* when he was past the Twentieth Year of his Age, he was admitted into *Lincolns-Inn*: and being then deeply sensible how much time he had lost, and that Idle and Vain things had over-run and almost corrupted his Mind, he resolved to Redeem the time he had lost, and followed his Studies with a diligence that could scarce be believed, if the signal effects of it did not gain it Credit. He Studied for many Years at the rate of Sixteen Hours a Day: He threw aside all fine Clothes, and betook himself to a plain Fashion, which he continued to use in many points to his dying day.

But since the honour of reclaiming him from the idleness of his former Course of Life, is due to the Memory of that Eminent Lawyer, Serjeant *Glanvil*, and since my Design in Writing is to propose a Pattern of Heroick Vertue to the World, I shall mention one passage of the Serjeant which ought never to be forgotten. His Father had a fair Estate, which he intended to settle on his Elder Brother, but he being a Vicious young Man, and there appearing no hopes of his Recovery, he settled it on him,
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that was his Second Son. Upon his Death, his Eldest Son finding that what he had before looked on, as the threatnings of an Angry Father, was now but too certain, became Melancholy, and that by degrees wrought so great a change on him, that what his Father could not prevail in while he Lived, was now effected by the severity of his last Will, so that it was now too late for him to change in hopes of an Estate that was gone from him. But his Brother observing the reality of the change, resolved within himself what to do: so he called him, with many of his Friends together to a Feast, and after other Dishes had been served up to the Dinner, he ordered one that was covered to be set before his Brother, and desired him to uncover it; which he doing, the Company was surprized to find it full of Writings. So he told them that he was now to do, what he was sure his Father would have done, if he had lived to see that happy Change, which they now all saw in his Brother: And therefore he freely restored to him the whole Estate. This is so great an instance of a Generous and just Disposition, that I hope the Reader will easily pardon this Digression, and that the rather since that Worthy Serjeant was so Instrumental in the happy Change that followed in the course of Mr. *Hale's* Life.

Yet he did not at first break-off from keeping too much Company with some vain People,

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till

till a sad Accident drove him from it, for he with some other young Students, being invited to be merry out of Town, one of the Company called for so much Wine, that notwithstanding all that Mr. *Hale* could do to prevent it, he went on in his Excess till he fell down as dead before them, so that all that were present, were not a little affrighted at it, who did what they could to bring him to himself again: This did particularly affect Mr. *Hale*, who thereupon went into another Room, and shutting the Door, fell on his Knees, and prayed earnestly to God, both for his Friend, that he might be restored to Life again; and that himself might be forgiven for giving such Countenance to so much Excess: and he Vowed to God, that he would never again keep Company in that manner, nor drink a Health while he Lived: His Friend recovered, and he most Religiously observed his Vow, till his Dying day. And though he was afterwards press'd to drink Healths, particularly the *Kings*, which was set up by too many as a distinguishing mark of Loyalty, and drew many into great excess after His *Majesty's* happy Restauration; but he would never dispense with his Vow, though he was sometimes roughly treated for this, which some hot and indiscreet Men called Obstinacy.

This wrought an entire change on him: now he forsook all vain Company and divided himself

himself between the Duties of Religion, and the Studies of his Profession; in the former he was so regular, that for Six and Thirty years time, he never once failed going to Church on the Lord's-day: This Observation he made when an Ague first interrupted that constant Course, and he reflected on it, as an Acknowledgment of God's great Goodness to him, in so long a Continuance of his Health.

He took a strict account of his time, of which the Reader will best judge, by the Scheme he drew for a Diary which I shall insert Copied from the Original, but I am not certain when he made it; it is set down in the same Simplicity in which he writ it for his own private use.

M O R N I N G.

- I. *To lift up the Heart to God in thankfulness for renewing my Life.*
- II. *To renew my Covenant with God in Christ.*
 1. *By renewed Acts of Faith receiving Christ, and rejoicing in the height of that Relation.*
 2. *Resolution of being one of his People doing him Allegiance.*
- III. *Adoration and Prayer.*
- IV. *Setting a Watch over my own Infirmities and Passions over the Snares laid in our way.*
Perimus licitis.

Day Employment.

There must be an Employment, two kinds.

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I. Our

- I. *Our Ordinary Calling, to serve God in it. It is a Service to Christ though never so mean. Colof. 3. Here Faithfulness, Diligence, Chearfulness. Not to overlay my self with more Business than I can bear.*
- II. *Our Spiritual Imployments : Mingle somewhat of God's Immediate Service in this day.*

Refreshments.

- I. *Meat and Drink, Moderation seasoned with somewhat of God.*
- II. *Recreations. 1. Not our Business. 2. Suitable. No Games, if given to Covetousness or Passion.*

If alone.

- I. *Beware of wandring, vain, Lustful Thoughts ; fly from thy self rather than entertain these.*
- II. *Let thy Solitary Thoughts be profitable, view the Evidences of thy Salvation, the State of thy Soul, the coming of Christ, thy own Mortality, it will make thee Humble and Watchful.*

Company.

Do good to them. Use God's Name Reverently. Beware of leaving an ill Impression of ill Example. Receive good from them if more knowing.

EVENING.

Cast up the Accounts of the Day. If ought be amiss Beg pardon. Gather Resolution of more Vigilance.

Lance. If well, Bless the Mercy and Grace of God that hath Supported thee.

These Notes have an Imperfection in the Wording of them, which shews they were only intended for his Privacies. No wonder a Man who set such rules to himself, became quickly very Eminent and remarkable.

Noy the Attorney General, being then one of the greatest Men of the Profession, took early notice of him, and called often for him, and directed him in his Study, and grew to have such friendship for him, that he came to be called *Young Noy*. He passing from the extream of Vanity in his Apparel, to that of neglecting himself too much, was once taken when there was a Press for the *King's* Service, as a fit Person for it; for he was a strong and well built Man: But some that knew him coming by, and giving notice who he was, the Press Men let him go. This made him return to more decency in his Clothes, but never to any Superfluity or Vanity in them.

Once as he was Buying some Cloth for a new Suit, the Draper, with whom he differed about the Price, told him he should have it for nothing, if he would promise him an Hundred pound when he came to be Lord Chief Justice of *England*; to which he answered, That he could not with a good Conscience wear any Man's Cloth, unless he payed for it; so he satisfied

the Draper, and carried away the Cloth. Yet that same Draper lived to see him advanced to that same dignity.

While he was thus improving himself in the Study of the Law, he not only kept the Hours of the *Hall* constantly in *Term-time*, but seldom put himself out of Commons in *Vacation-time*, and continued then to follow his Studies with an unwearied diligence; and not being satisfied with the Books writ about it, or to take things upon trust, was very diligent in searching all Records: Then did he make divers Collections out of the Books he had Read, and mixing them with his own Observations, digested them into a Common-place Book; which he did with so much Industry and Judgment, that an Eminent Judge of the *Kings-Bench*, borrowed it of him when he was Lord Chief *Baron*: He unwillingly lent it, because it had been Writ by him before he was called to the *Bar*, and had never been throughly revised by him since that Time, only what alterations had been made in the Law by subsequent Statutes, and Judgments, were added by him as they had happened; but the Judge having perused it, said, that though it was composed by him so early, he did not think any Lawyer in *England* could do it better, except he himself would again set about it.

He was soon found out by that great and Learned Antiquary Mr. *Selaen*, who though much superiour to him in Years, yet came to
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have such a liking of him, and of Mr. *Vaughan*, who was afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the *Common-Pleas*, that as he continued in a close Friendship with them while he lived, so he left them at his Death, two of his four Executors.

It was this Acquaintance that first set Mr. *Hale* on a more enlarged pursuit of Learning, which he had before confined to his own Profession, but becoming as great a Master in it, as ever any was, very soon; he who could never let any of his time go away unprofitably, found leisure to attain to as great a variety of knowledge, in as Comprehensive a manner as most Men have done in any Age.

He set himself much to the Study of the *Roman* Law, and though he liked the way of Judicature in *England* by Juries, much better than that of the *Civil* Law, where so much was trusted to the Judge; yet he often said, that the true Grounds and Reasons of Law were so well delivered in the *Digests*, that a Man could never understand Law as a Science so well as by seeking it there, and therefore lamented much that it was so little Studied in *England*.

He looked on readiness in *Arithmetick*, as a thing which might be useful to him in his own Employment, and acquired it to such a Degree, that he would often on the Sudden, and afterwards on the *Bench*, resolve very hard Questions, which had puzzled the best Accomprants about Town. He rested not here, but Studied the

Algebra both *Speciosa* and *Numerosa*, and went through all the other *Mathematical* Sciences, and made a great Collection of very excellent Instruments, sparing no cost to have them as exact, as Art could make them. He was also very Conversant in *Philosophical* Learning, and in all the curious Experiments, and rare Discoveries of this Age: And had the new Books Written on those Subjects sent him from all Parts, which he both read and examined so Critically, that if the Principles and Hypotheses which he took first up, did any way prepossess him, yet those who have differed most from him, have acknowledged, that in what he has writ concerning the *Torricellian* Experiment, and of the Rarefaction and Condensation of the Air; he shews as great an Exactness, and as much Subtily in the Reasoning he builds on them, as those Principles to which he adhered could bear. But indeed it will seem scarce Credible, that a Man so much employed, and of so severe a temper of Mind, could find leisure to Read, Observe and Write so much of these Subjects as he did. He called them his Diversions, for he often said when he was weary with the Study of the Law, or Divinity, he used to Recreate himself with *Philosophy* or the *Mathematicks*; To these he added great skill in *Physick*, *Anatomy*, and *Chirurgery*: And he used to say no Man cou'd be absolutely Master in any Profession, without having some skill in other Sciences; for
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besides the Satisfaction he had in the knowledge of these things, he made use of them often in his Employments. In some Examinations he would put such Questions to *Physicians* or *Chirurgeons*, that they have professed the College of *Physicians* could not do it more Exactly; by which he discovered great Judgment, as well as much Knowledge in these things: And in his Sickness he used to Argue with his *Doctors* about his Distempers, and the Methods they took with them, like one of their own Profession; which one of them told me he understood, as far as *Speculation* without *Practice* could carry him.

To this he added great Searches into *Ancient History*, and particularly into the roughest and least delightful part of it, *Chronology*. He was well acquainted with the *Ancient Greek Philosophers*, but want of occasion to use it, wore out his Knowledge of the *Greek Tongue*; and though he never Studied the *Hebrew Tongue*, yet by his great Conversation with *Selden*, he understood the most curious things in the *Rabbinical Learning*.

But above all these, he seemed to have made the Study of *Divinity* the chief of all others, to which he not only directed every thing else, but also arrived at that pitch in it, that those who have read, what he has Written on these Subjects, will think, they must have had most of his Time and Thoughts. It may seem Extravagant

travagant, and almost Incredible, that one man in no great Compass of years, should have acquired such a variety of Knowledge; and that in Sciences that require much Leisure and Application. But as his Parts were quick, and his Apprehensions lively, his Memory great, and his Judgment strong; so his Industry was almost Indefatigable. He rose always betimes in the Morning, was never idle, scarce ever held any discourse about News, except with some few in whom he confided entirely. He entered into no Correspondence by Letters except about necessary Business, or matters of Leaping, and spent very little time in Eating or Drinking; for as he never went to publick Feasts so he gave no Entertainments but to the Poor; for he followed our *Saviour's* direction (of feasting none but these) literally: And in Eating and Drinking, he observed not only great Plainness and Moderation, but lived so *Philosophically*, that he always ended his Meal, with an Appetite: So that he lost little time at it; (that being the only Portion which he grudged himself) and was disposed to any Exercise of his mind, to which he thought fit to apply himself, immediately after he had Dined: By these means he gained much time, that is otherwise unprofitably wasted.

He had also an admirable equality in the temper of his mind, which disposed him for whatever Studies he thought fit to turn himself to;

And

And some very uneasy things which he lay under for many years, did rather engage him to than distract him from his Studies.

When he was called to the *Bar*, and began to make a Figure in the World, the late unhappy Wars broke out, in which it was no easie thing, for a Man to preserve his Integrity, and to live Securely, free from great Danger and trouble. He had read the Life of *Pomponius Atticus*, Writ by *Nepos*, and having observed, that he had passed through a time of as much Distraction, as ever was in any Age or State, from the Wars of *Marinus* and *Sylla*, to the beginnings of *Augustus* his Reign, without the least blemish on his Reputation, and free from any Considerable Danger, being held in great Esteem by all Parties, and courted and favoured by them: He set him as a Pattern to himself, and observing that besides those Virtues which are necessary to all Men, and at all times, there were two things that chiefly preserved *Atticus*, the one was his *engaging in no Faction*, and *meddling in no publick Business*, the other was his *constant favouring and relieving those that were lowest*, which was ascribed by such as prevailed to the Generosity of his Temper, and procured him much Kindness from those on whom he had exercised his Bounty, when it came to their turn to Govern: He resolved to guide himself by those Rules as much as was possible for him to do.

He

He not only avoided all publick Employment, but the very talking of News, and was always both Favourable and Charitable to those who were deprest, and was sure never to provoke any in particular, by censuring or reflecting on their Actions, for many that have Conversed much with him, have told me they never heard him once speak ill of any Person.

He was employed in his practice by all the *King's* party: He was assigned Council to the *Earl of Strafford*, and Arch-Bishop *Laud*, and afterwards to the Blessed *King* himself, when brought to the infamous Pageantry of a Mock-Trial, and offered to plead for him with all the Courage, that so Glorious a Cause ought to have inspired him with, but was not suffered to appear, because the *King* refusing, as he had good Reason, to submit to the Court, it was pretended none could be admitted to speak for him. He was also Council for the *Duke of Hamilton*, the *Earl of Holland*, and the *Lord Capel*: His Plea for the former of these I have published in the *Memoirs* of that *Duke's* Life. Afterwards also being Council for the *Lord Craven*, he pleaded with that force of Argument, that the then Attorney General, threatened him for appearing against the Government; to whom he answered, He was Pleading in defence of those Laws, which they declared they would maintain and preserve, and he was doing his duty

to his Client, so that he was not to be daunted with Threatnings.

Upon all these occasions he had discharged himself with so much Learning, Fidelity, and Courage, that he came to be generally employed for all that Party; Nor was he satisfied to appear for their just Defence in the way of his Profession, but he also relieved them often in their Necessities; which he did in a way that was no less Prudent than Charitable, considering the dangers of that time: For he did often deposite considerable Sums in the hands of a Worthy Gentleman of the *King's* Party, who knew their Necessities well, and was to Distribute his Charity according to his own Discretion, without either letting them know, from whence it came, or giving himself any Account to whom he had given it.

Cromwell, seeing him posselt of so much Practice, and he being one of the Eminentest Men of the Law, who was not at all afraid of doing his duty in those Critical times, resolved to take him off from it, and raise him to the *Bench*.

Mr. Hale saw well enough the Snare laid for him, and though he did not much consider the prejudice it would be to himself, to Exchange the easie and safer profits he had by his Practice, for a *Judge's* place in the *Common-Pleas*, which he was required to accept of, yet he did deliberate more on the Lawfulness of taking a Commission from Usurpers; but having considered

dered well of this, he came to be of Opinion, that it being absolutely necessary, to have Justice and Property kept up at all times: It was no Sin to take a Commission from Usurpers, if he made no Declaration of his acknowledging their Authority, which he never did: He was much urged to Accept of it by some Eminent Men of his own Profession, who were of the *Kings* Party, as Sir Orlando Bridgman, and Sir Geoffrey Palmer; and was also satisfied concerning the lawfulness of it, by the Resolution of some famous Divines, in particular Dr. Sheldon, and Dr. Henshman, who were afterwards promoted to the Sees of *Canterbury* and *London*.

To these were added the importunities of all his Friends, who thought that in a time of so much Danger and Oppression, it might be no small Security to the Nation, to have a Man of his Integrity and Abilities on the *Bench*: And the Usurpers themselves held him in that Estimation, that they were glad to have him give a Countenance to their Courts, and by promoting one that was known to have different Principles from them, affected the Reputation of honouring and trusting Men of Eminent Virtues, of what persuasion soever they might be, in relation to publick Matters.

But he had greater Scruples concerning the proceeding against Felons, and putting Offenders to Death by that Commission, since he thought the Sword of Justice belonging only by
right

tight to the lawful Prince, it seemed not warrantable to proceed to a Capital Sentence by an Authority derived from Usurpers; yet at first he made distinction between common and ordinary Felonies, and offences against the State, for the last he would never meddle in them; for he thought these might be often legal and warrantable Actions, and that the putting men to Death on that account was Murder; but for the ordinary Felonies, he at first was of Opinion that it was as necessary even in times of Usurpation to Execute Justice in those cases, as in the matters of property; But after the *King* was Murdered, he laid by all his Collections of the Pleas of the *Crown*, and that they might not fall into ill hands, he hid them behind the Wainscoting of his Study, for he said *there was no more occasion to use them, till the King should be again restored to his Right*, and so upon his *Majesty's* Restauration he took them out, and went on in his design to perfect that great Work.

Yet for some time after he was made a *Judge*, when he went the Circuit, he did sit on the Crown Side, and Judged Criminals: But having considered farther of it, he came to think that it was at least better not to do it; and so after the Second or Third Circuit, he refused to sit any more on the Crown Side, and told plainly the reason, for in matters of Blood, he was always to choose the safer Side: And indeed

deed he had so carried himself in some Tryals, that they were not unwilling he should withdraw from meddling farther in them, of which I shall give some Instances.

Not long after he was made a *Judge*, which was in the year 1653, when he went the Circuit, a Tryal was brought before him at *Lincoln*, concerning the Murder of one of the Townsmen, who had been of the *King's* Party, and was killed by a Soldier of the *Garrison* there. He was in the Fields with a Fowling-piece on his Shoulder, which the Soldier seeing, he came to him and said, It was contrary to an Order which the *Protector* had made, *That none who had been of the King's Party should carry Arms*, and so he would have forced it from him: But as the other did not regard the Order, so being stronger than the Soldier, he threw him down, and having beat him, he left him: The Soldier went into the Town, and told one of his Fellow-Soldiers how he had been used, and got him to go with him, and lie in wait for the Man that he might be revenged on him. They both watched his coming to Town, and one of them went to him to demand his Gun, which he refusing, the Soldier struck at him, and as they were struggling, the other came behind, and ran his Sword into his Body, of which he presently died. It was in the time of the Assizes, so they were both Tried: Against the one there was no Evidence of forethought Felony, so he
was

was only found guilty of Man-Slaughter, and Burnt in the Hand; but the other was found guilty of Murder: And though Colonel *Whalley* that Commanded the *Garrison*, came into the Court and urged, *That the Man was Killed only for disobeying the Protector's Orders*, and *that the Soldier was but doing his Duty*; yet the Judge regarded both his Reasons and Threatnings very little, and therefore he not only gave Sentence against him, but ordered the Execution to be so suddenly done, that it might not be possible to procure a Reprieve, which he believed would have been obtained, if there had been time enough granted for it.

Another occasion was given him of shewing both his Justice and Courage, when he was in another Circuit; he understood that the *Protector* had ordered a *Jury* to be returned for a Tryal in which he was more than ordinarily concerned; upon this information, he Examined the *Sheriff* about it, who knew nothing of it, for he said he referred all such things to the under-*Sheriff*, and having next asked the under-*Sheriff* concerning it, he found the *Jury* had been returned by order from *Cromwell*. Upon which he shewed the Statute, that all *Juries* ought to be returned by the *Sheriff* or his lawful Officer; And this not being done according to Law, he dismissed the *Jury*, and would not try the Cause: Upon which the *Protector* was highly displeased with him, and at his return

from the Circuit, he told him in Anger *he was not fit to be a Judge*, to which all the Answer he made was, *That it was very true.*

Another thing met him in the Circuit, upon which he resolved to have proceeded severely: Some *Anabaptists* had rushed into a Church, and had disturbed a Congregation, while they were receiving the Sacrament, not without some Violence. At this he was highly offended, for he said *it was intolerable for Men, who pretended so highly to liberty of Conscience, to go and disturb others; Especially those who had the Incouragement of the Law on their side:* But these were so supported by some great *Magistrates* and *Officers*, that a stop was put to his proceedings; upon which he declared, he would *meddle no more with the Tryals on the Crown side.*

When *Penruddock's* Tryal was brought on, there was a special Messenger sent to him requiring him to assist at it. It was in Vacation time, and he was at his Country-House at *Alderly*: He plainly refused to go, and said, *the four Terms, and two Circuits, were enough, and the little Interval that was between, was little enough for their private affairs*, and so he excused himself; he thought it was not necessary to speak more clearly, but if he had been urged to it, he would not have been afraid of doing it.

He was at that time chosen a *Parliament-Man*, (for there being then no House of Lords, *Judges* might have been chosen to sit in the House of Commons)

Commons) and he went to it, on design to obstruct the Mad and Wicked projects, then on foot, by two parties, that had very different Principles and ends.

On the one hand, some that were perhaps more sincere, yet were really Brain-sick, designed they knew not what, being resolved to pull down a *Standing Ministry*, the *Law*, and *property* of *England*, and all the *Ancient Rules* of this Government, and set up in its room an *Indigested Enthusiastical Scheme*, which they called the *Kingdom of Christ*, or of his *Saints*; many of them being really in expectation, that one day or another Christ would come down, and sit among them, and at least they thought to begin the *Glorious Thousand Years*, mentioned in the *Revelation*.

Others at the same time, taking advantages from the Fears and Apprehensions, that all the sober Men of the Nation were in, lest they should fall under the Tyranny of a distracted sort of People, who to all their other ill Principles, added *great Cruelty*, which they had Copied from those at *Munster* in the former Age, Intended to improve that opportunity to raise their own Fortunes and Families. Amidst these, Judge Hale steered a middle Course; for as he would engage for neither side, so he with a great many more Worthy Men came to *Parliaments*, more out of a design to *hinder Mischief*, than to *do much Good*; wisely foreseeing, that

the Inclinations for the *Royal Family* were daily growing so much, that in time the disorders then in Agitation, would ferment to that happy Resolution, in which they determined in *May*, 1660. And therefore all that could be then done, was to oppose the ill designs of both Parties, the *Enthusiasts* as well as the *Usurpers*. Among the other extravagant Motions made in this *Parliament*, one was, To *destroy all the Records in the Tower*, and to *settle the Nation on a New Foundation*; So he took this Province to himself to shew the *Madness* of this Proposition, the *Injustice* of it, and the *Mischiefs* that would follow on it, and did it with such Clearness, and strength of Reason, as not only satisfied all sober Persons (for it may be supposed that was soon done) but stopt even the Mouths of the frantick People themselves.

Thus he continued administering Justice till the *Protector* died, but then he both refused the Mournings that were sent to him and his Servants for the Funeral, and likewise to accept of the New Commission that was offered him by *Richard*, and when the rest of the *Judges* urged it upon him, and imployed others to press him to accept of it, he rejected all their Importunities, and said, *He could Act no longer under such Authority*.

He lived a private Man till the *Parliament* met that called home the *King*, to which he was returned Knight of the Shire from the County

County of *Glocester*. It appeared at that time how much he was beloved and Esteemed in his Neighbourhood, for though another who stood in Competition with him had spent near a Thousand pounds to procure Voices, a great Summ to be imployed that way in those days, and he had been at no cost, and was so far from soliciting it, that he had stood out long against those who press'd him to appear, and he did not promise to appear till Three days before the Election, yet he was preferred. He was brought thither almost by Violence, by the Lord (now Earl of) *Berkel y*, who bore all the Charge of the Entertainments on the day of his Election, which was considerable, and had engaged all his Friends and Interest for him : and whereas by the Writ, the Knight of a Shire must be *Miles gladio cinctus*, and he had no Sword, that Noble Lord girt him with his own Sword during the Election, but he was soon weary of it, for the Imbroidery of the Belt did not sute well with the plainness of his Clothes : and indeed the Election did not hold long, for as soon as ever he came into the Field, he was chosen by much the greater Number, though the Poll continued for three or four days.

In that *Parliament* he bore his share, in the happy period then put to the *Confusions* that threatned the utter Ruin of the Nation, which contrary to the Expectations of the most sanguine, settled in so serene and quiet a manner,

that those who had formerly built so much on their Success, calling it an *Answer* from Heaven to their solemn Appeals, to the Providence of God, were now not a little Confounded, to see all this turned against themselves, in an instance much more extraordinary than any of those were, upon which they had built so much. His great Prudence and Excellent Temper led him to think, that the sooner an Act of Indemnity were passed, and the fuller it were of Graces and Favours, it would sooner settle the Nation, and quiet the minds of the People; and therefore he applied himself with a particular care to the framing and carrying it on: In which it was visible he had no concern of his own, but merely his love of the Publick that set him on to it.

Soon after this, when the Courts in *Westminster Hall* came to be settled, he was made *Lord Chief Baron*; and when the *Earl of Clarendon* (then *Lord Chancellor*) delivered him his Commission in the Speech he made according to the Custom on such Occasions, he expressed his *Esteem* of him in a very singular manner, telling him among other things, *that if the King could have found out an honest and fitter Man for that Employment, he would not have advanced him to it; and that he had therefore preferred him, because he knew none that deserved it so well.* It is ordinary for Persons so promoted to be Knighted, but he desired to avoid having that Honour

nour done him, and therefore for a considerable time declined all opportunities of waiting on the *King*, which the *Lord Chancellor* observing, sent for him upon Business one day, when the *King* was at his House, and told His Majesty there was his modest *Chief Baron*, upon which, he was unexpectedly Knighted.

He continued Eleven years in that place, Managing the Court, and all Proceedings in it, with singular Justice. It was observed by the whole Nation, how much he raised the Reputation and Practice of it: And those who held Places, and Offices in it, can all declare, not only the Impartiality of his Justice, for that is but a common Virtue, but his Generosity, his vast Diligence, and his great exactness in Tryals. This gave occasion to the only Complaint that ever was made of him, *That he did not dispatch Matters quick enough*; but the great care he used, to put Suits to a final End, as it made him slower in deciding them; so it had this good Effect, that Causes tried before him, were seldom if ever tried again.

Nor did his Administration of Justice lie only in that Court: He was one of the principal Judges that sate in *Cliffords-Inn*, about settling the difference between Landlord and Tenant, after the *Dreadful Fire of London*. He being the first that offered his Service to the *City*, for accommodating all the differences that might have arisen about the Rebuilding it, in which

he behaved himself to the satisfaction of all Persons concerned : So that the suddain and quiet Building of the *City*, which is justly to be Reckoned one of the *Wonders* of the Age, is in no small Measure due to the great care, which he and Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, (then *Lord Chief Justice* of the *Common-Pleas*, afterwards *Lord Keeper* of the Great Seal of *England*) used, and to the Judgment they shewed in that Affair : since without the Rules then laid down, there might have otherwise followed such an endless train of vexatious Suits, as might have been little less chargeable than the Fire it self had been. But without detracting from the Labours of the other *Judges*, it must be acknowledged that he was the most instrumental in that great Work ; for he first by way of Scheme, contrived the Rules upon which he and the rest proceeded afterwards ; in which his readiness at *Arithmetick*, and his skill in *Architecture*, were of great use to him.

But it will not seem strange that a *Judge* behaved himself as he did, who at the Entry into his Employment, set such excellent Rules to himself, which will appear in the following Paper, Copied from the Original under his own hand.

Things

Things Necessary to be Continually had
in Remembrance.

- I. *That in the Administration of Justice, I am intrusted for God, the King and Country; and therefore,*
- II. *That it be done, 1. Uprightly, 2. Deliberately, 3. Resolutely.*
- III. *That I rest not upon my own Understanding or Strength, but Implore and rest upon the Direction and Strength of God.*
- IV. *That in the Execution of Justice, I carefully lay aside my own Passions, and not give way to them, however provoked.*
- V. *That I be wholly intent upon the Business I am about, remitting all other Cares and Thoughts, as unseasonable and Interruptions.*
- VI. *That I suffer not my self to be prepossessed with any Judgment at all, till the whole Business and both Parties be heard.*
- VII. *That I never engage my self in the beginning of any Cause, but reserve my self unprejudiced till the whole be heard.*
- VIII. *That in Business Capital, though my Nature prompt me to Pity; yet to consider, that there is also a Pity due to the Country.*
- IX. *That I be not too Rigid in Matters purely Consciencious, where all the harm is Diversity of Judgment.*

X. That

- X. *That I be not biassed with Compassion to the Poor, or Favour to the Rich, in point of Justice.*
- XI. *That Popular, or Court Applause, or Dislike, have no Influence into any thing I do in point of Distribution of Justice.*
- XII. *Not to be solicitous what Men will say or think, so long as I keep my self exactly according to the Rule of Justice.*
- XIII. *If in Criminals it be a measuring Cast, to incline to Mercy and Acquittal.*
- XIV. *In Criminals that consist merely in words, when no more harm ensues, Moderation is no Injustice.*
- XV. *In Criminals of Blood, if the Fact be Evident, Severity is Justice.*
- XVI. *To abhor all private Solicitations, of what kind soever, and by whomsoever, in matters Depending.*
- XVII. *To charge my Servants, 1. Not to interpose in any Business whatsoever, 2. Not to take more than their known Fees, 3. Not to give any undue precedence to Causes, 4. Not to recommend Council.*
- XVIII. *To be short and sparing at Meals, that I may be the fitter for Business.*

He would never receive private Addresses or Recommendations from the greatest Persons in any matter, in which Justice was Concerned. One of the first Peers of England went once to his Chamber and told him, *that having a Suit*
in

in Law to be tried before him, he was then to acquaint him with it, that he might the better understand it, when it should come to be heard in Court. Upon which the Lord Chief Baron interrupted him, and said he did not deal fairly to come to his Chamber about such Affairs, for he never received any Information of Causes but in open Court, where both Parties were to be heard alike; so he would not suffer him to go on: Whereupon his Grace (for he was a Duke) went away not a little dissatisfied, and complained of it to the King, as a Rudeness that was not to be endured. But his Majesty bid him content himself that he was no worse used, and said, he verily believed he would have used himself no better, if he had gone to sollicite him in any of his own Causes.

Another passage tell out in one of his Circuits, which was somewhat censured as an Affectation of an unreasonable strictness, but it flowed from his Exactness to the Rules he had set himself: A Gentleman had sent him a Buck for his Table, that had a Trial at the *Affizes*; so when he heard his Name, he asked if he was not the same Person that had sent him Venison, and finding he was the same, he told him, he could not suffer the Trial to go on, till he had paid him for his Buck; to which the Gentleman answered, that he never sold his Venison, and that he had done nothing to him, which he did not do to every Judge that had gone that Circuit; which was

was confirmed by several Gentlemen then present : but all would not do, for the *Lord Chief Baron* had learned from *Solomon*, that *a gift perverteth the ways of Judgment*, and therefore he would not suffer the Trial to go on, till he had paid for the Present ; upon which the Gentleman withdrew the Record : and at *Salisbury* the *Dean* and *Chapter* having according to the Custom presented him with six Sugar-Loaves in his Circuit, he made his Servants pay for the Sugar before he would try their Cause.

It was not so easie for him to throw off the importunities of the Poor, for whom his *Compassion* wrought more powerfully than his regard to Wealth and Greatness, yet when Justice was concerned, even *that* did not turn him out of the way. There was one that had been put out of a place for some ill behaviour, who urged the *Lord Chief Baron* to set his Hand to a Certificate, to restore him to it, or provide him with another : But he told him plainly *his Fault was such that he could not do it* ; the other pressed him vehemently, and fell down on his knees, and begged it of him with many Tears ; but finding that could not prevail, he said *he should be utterly Ruined if he did it not* ; and *he should Curse him for it every day*. But that having no Effect, then he tell out into all the reproachful Words that Passion and Despair could inspire him with : to which, all the Answer the *Lord Chief Baron* made, was, *that he could very well bear all his Reproaches,*

Reproaches, but he could not for all that set his hand to his Certificate. He saw he was Poor, so he gave him a large Charity and sent him away.

But now he was to go on after his Pattern, *Pomponius Atticus*, still to favour and relieve them that were lowest; So besides great Charities to the *Nonconformists*, who were then as he thought too hardly used, he took great care to cover them all he could, from the Severities some designed against them, and discouraged those who were inclined to stretch the Laws too much against them: He lamented the differences that were raised in this Church very much, and according to the Impartiality of his Justice, he blamed some things on both sides, which I shall set down with the same freedom that he spake them. He thought many of the *Nonconformists*, had merited highly in the Business of the *King's Restoration*, and at least deserved that the *terms of Conformity* should not have been made *stricter* than they were before the War. There was not then that *dreadful* prospect of *Popery*, that has appeared since: But that which afflicted him most was, that he saw the *Heats* and *Contentions* which followed upon those *different Parties* and *Interests*, did take People off from the *Indispensable things* of Religion and slackned the *Zeal* of other ways *Good Men* for the substance of it, so much being spent about *External* and *Indifferent* things. It also gave advantages to *Atheists*, to treat the most

Sacred

Sacred Points of our holy Faith, as *Ridiculous*, when they saw the Professors of it contend, so *fiercely*, and with such *bitterness* about *lesser Matters*: He was much offended at all those Books that were written, to expose the *contrary Self* to the scorn and contempt of the Age in a wanton and petulant Style; He thought such Writers wounded the *Christian Religion*, through the sides of those who differed from them: While a sort of lewd People, who having assumed to themselves the Title of the *Wiss* (though but a very few of them have a right to it) took up from both hands, what they had said, to make one another shew *Ridiculous*, and from thence perswaded the World to laugh at both, and at *all Religion* for their sakes. And therefore he often wished there might be some Law, to make all *Scurrility* or *Bitterness* in Disputes about Religion *Punishable*. But as he lamented the proceedings too rigorously against the *Nonconformists*, so he declared himself always of the side of the *Church of England*, and said those of the *Separation* were good Men, but they had *narrow Souls*, who would break the Peace of the Church about such *inconsiderable Matters*, as the points in difference were.

He scarce ever meddled in State Intrigues, yet upon a Proposition that was set on foot by the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, for a *Comprehension* of the more moderate Dissenters, and a *limited Indulgence* towards such as could not be brought within

within the Comprehension, he dispensed with his *Maxime*, of *avoiding to engage in Matters of State*. There were several Meetings upon that occasion. The *Divine* of the Church of *England* that appeared most considerably for it, was Doctor *Wilkins*, afterwards promoted to the Bishoprick of *Chester*, a Man of as great a Mind, as true a Judgment, as eminent Virtues, and of as good a Soul, as any I ever knew. He being determined as well by his excellent temper, as by his Foresight and Prudence, by which he early perceived the great Prejudices that Religion received, and the vast Dangers the *Reformation* was like to fall under by those Divisions; set about that project with the Magnanimity that was indeed peculiar to himself, for though he was much Censured by many of his own side, and seconded by very few, yet he pushed it as far as he could: After several Conferences with two of the Eminentest of the *Presbyterian* Divines, *Heads* were agreed on, some *Abate-ments* were to be made, and *Explanations* were to be accepted of. The particulars of that project being thus concerted, they were brought to the *Lord Chief Baron*, who put them in form of a Bill, to be presented to the next Session of Parliament.

But two Parties appeared vigorously against this Design, the one was of some zealous Clergymen, who thought it below the *Dignity* of the Church to *alter Laws*, and *change Settlements*

ments for the sake of some whom they Esteemed *Schismatics*: They also believed, it was better to keep them out of the Church, than bring them into it, since a *Faction* upon that would arise in the Church, which they thought might be more *Dangerous* than the *Schism* it self was. Besides they said, if some things were now to be changed in compliance with the humour of a Party, as soon as that was done, another Party might demand other *Concessions*, and there might be as good Reasons invented for these as for those: Many such *Concessions* might also shake those of our own Communion, and tempt them to forsake us, and go over to the Church of *Rome*, pretending that we *changed* so often, that they were thereby inclined to be of a Church that was *constant* and *true* to her self. These were the Reasons brought, and chiefly insisted on against all *Comprehension*; and they wrought upon the *greater part* of the House of Commons, so that they passed a Vote against the receiving of any Bill for that Effect.

There were others that opposed it upon very different ends: They designed to shelter the *Papists* from the Execution of the Law, and saw clearly that nothing could bring in *Papery* so well as a *Toleration*. But to tolerate *Papery* bare-faced, would have startled the Nation too much; so it was Necessary to hinder all the Propositions for Union, since the keeping up the Differences was the best Colour they could find,

find, for getting the Toleration to pass only as a slackning the Laws against Dissenters, whose Numbers and Wealth made it adviseable to have some regard to them; and under this pretence *Popery* might have crept in more covered, and less regarded: So these Councils being more acceptable to some *concealed Papists* then in great Power, as has since appeared but too Evidently; the whole Project for *Comprehension* was let fall, and those who had set it on foot, came to be looked on with an ill Eye, as *secret Favourers* of the Dissenters, *Underminers* of the Church, and every thing else that Jealousie and distaste could cast on them.

But upon this occasion the *Lord Chief Baron*, and Dr. *Wilkins*, came to contract a firm and familiar Friendship; and the *Lord Chief Baron* having much Business, and little time to spare, did to enjoy the other the more, what he had scarce ever done before, he went sometimes to Dine with him. And though he lived in great Friendship with some other eminent Clergy-Men, as Dr. *Ward*, Bishop of *Salisbury*; Dr. *Barlow*, Bishop of *Lincoln*; Dr. *Barrow*, late Master of *Trinity College*; Dr. *Tillotson*, Dean of *Canterbury*; and Dr. *Stillingsfleet*, Dean of *St. Paul's*, (Men so well known and so much Esteemed, that as it was no wonder the *Lord Chief Baron* valued their Conversation highly, so those of them that are yet alive will think it no lessening of the Character they are so deservedly

in, That they are reckoned among *Judge Hales's* Friends) yet there was an intimacy and freedom in his converse with *Bishop Wilkins* that was singular to him alone. He had during the late Wars, lived in a long and entire Friendship with the Apostolical Primate of *Ireland*, *Bishop Usher*: Their curious searches into Antiquity, and the Sympathy of both their Tempers led them to a great Agreement almost in every thing. He held also great Conversation with *Mr. Baxter*, who was his Neighbour at *Aston*, on whom he looked as a Person of great Devotion and Piety, and of a very subtile and quick Apprehension: their Conversation lay most in *Metaphysical* and *Abstracted Idea's* and *Schemes*.

He looked with great Sorrow on the Impiety and Atheism of the Age, and so he set himself to oppose it, not only by the shining Example of his own Life, but by engaging in a Cause, that indeed could hardly fall into better hands: And as he could not find a Subject more worthy of himself, so there were few in the Age that understood it so well, and could manage it more Skilfully. The occasion that first led him to write about it was this: He was a strict Observer of the *Lord's-Day*, in which, besides his Constancy in the Publick Worship of God, he used to call all his Family together, and repeat to them the Heads of the Sermons, with some Additions of his own, which he fitted for their Capacities, and Circumstances, and that being done,

done, he had a Custom of shutting himself up for two or three Hours, which he either spent in his *Secret Devotions*, or on such profitable *Meditations* as did then occur to his Thoughts: He writ them with the same simplicity that he formed them in his Mind, without any Art, or so much as a Thought to let them be published. He never Corrected them, but laid them by, when he had finished them, having intended only to fix and preserved his own Reflections in them; So that he used no sort of care to polish them, or make the first draught perfecter than when they fell from his Pen: These fell into the hands of a worthy Person, and he judging, as well he might, that the Communicating them to the World, might be a publick service, Printed two Volumes of them in Octavo a little before the Author's Death, Containing his

CONTEMPLATIONS,

- I. *Of our latter End.*
- II. *Of Wisdom and the Fear of God.*
- III. *Of the Knowledge of Christ Crucified.*
- IV. *The Victory of Faith over the World.*
- V. *Of Humility.*
- VI. *Jacob's Vow.*
- VII. *Of Contentation.*
- VIII. *Of Afflictions.*
- IX. *A good method to entertain unstable and troublesome times.*
- X. *Changes and Troubles, a Poem.*
- XI. *Of*

- XI. *Of the Redemption of time.*
 XII. *The great Audit.*
 XIII. *Directions touching keeping the Lord's Day,
 in a Letter to his Children.*
 XIV. *Poems Written upon Christmas-Day.*

In the Second Volume.

- I. *An Enquiry touching Happiness.*
 II. *Of the Chief end of Man.*
 III. *Upon 12. Eccles. 1. Remember thy Creator.*
 IV. *Upon the 51. Psal. v. 10. Create a clean
 heart in me. With a Poem.*
 V. *The Folly and Mischief of Sin.*
 VI. *Of self Denial.*
 VII. *Motives to Watchfulness, in reference to the
 Good and Evil Angels.*
 VIII. *Of Moderation of the Affections.*
 IX. *Of Worldly hope and Expectation.*
 X. *Upon 13. Heb. 14. We have here no Con-
 tinuing City.*
 XI. *Of Contentedness and Patience.*
 XII. *Of Moderation of Anger.*
 XIII. *A preparative against Afflictions.*
 XIV. *Of Submission, Prayer, and Thanksgiving.*
 XV. *Of Prayer and Thanksgiving on Psal. 116.
 12.*
 XVI. *Meditations on the Lord's Prayer, with a
 Paraphrase upon it.*

In them there appears a Generous and true
 Spirit of Religion, mixt with most serious and
 fervent

fervent Devotion, and perhaps with the more advantage, that the Stile wants some Correction, which shews they were the genuine Productions of an excellent Mind, entertaining it self in secret with such Contemplations. The Stile is clear and Masculine, in a due temper between flatness and affectation, in which he expresses his Thoughts both easily and decently: In writing these Discourses, having run over most of the Subjects that his own Circumstances led him chiefly to consider, he began to be in some pain to chuse new Arguments; and therefore resolved to fix on a Theme that should hold him longer.

He was soon determined in his Choice, by the immoral and irreligious Principles and Practices, that had so long vexed his Righteous Soul: And therefore began a great Design against *Atheism*, the first part of which is only Printed, of the *Origination of Mankind*, designed to prove the *Creation of the World*, and the *Truth of the Mosaical History*.

The Second Part was of the *Nature of the Soul*, and of a *future State*.

The Third Part was concerning the *Attributes of God*, both from the *abstracted Idea's* of him, and the *Light of Nature*; the *Evidence of Providence*, the *notions of Morality*, and the *voice of Conscience*.

And the Fourth Part was concerning the *Truth and Authority of the Scriptures*, with *Answers*

swers to the *Objections* against them: On writing these he spent Seven years. He Wrote them with so much Consideration, that one who perused the Original under his own hand, which was the first draught of it; told me, he did not remember of any *considerable* Alteration, perhaps not of *twenty words* in the whole Work.

The way of his Writing them, only on the Evenings of the *Lord's Day* when he was in Town, and not much oftner when he was in the Country, made, that they are not so contracted, as it is very likely he would have writ them, if he had been more at leisure to have brought his Thoughts into a narrower Compass, and fewer words.

But making some Allowance for the largeness of the *Stile*, that Volume that is Printed, is generally acknowledged to be one of the *perfectest* pieces both of *Learning* and *Reasoning* that has been Writ on that subject: And he who read a great part of the other Volumes told me, they were all of a piece with the first.

When he had finished this Work, he sent it by an unknown hand to Bishop *Wilkins*, to desire his Judgment of it; But he that brought it, would give no other Account of the Author, but *that he was not a Clergy Man*. The Bishop, and his worthy Friend Dr. *Tilloison*, Read a great deal of it with much pleasure, but could not imagine who could be the Author, and how a Man that was Master of so much *Reason*, and so great

great a variety of *Knowledge*, should be so *unknown* to them, that they could not find him out, by those *Characters*, which are so little Common. At last Dr. *Tillotson* guessed it must be the *Lord Chief Baron*, to which the other presently agreed, wondring he had been so long in finding it out. So they went immediately to him, and the Bishop thanking him for the Entertainment he had received from his Works, he blushed extreamly, not without some displeasure, apprehending that the Person he had trusted had discovered him. But the Bishop soon cleared that, and told him, He *had discovered himself*, for the Learning of that Book was so various, that none but he could be the Author of it. And that Bishop having a freedom in delivering his Opinion of Things and Persons, which perhaps few ever managed both with so much Plainness and Prudence, told him, *There was nothing could be better said on these Arguments, if he could bring it into a less compass, but if he had not leisure for that, he thought it much better to have it to come out, though a little too large, than that the World should be deprived of the good which it must needs do.* But our Judge, had never the opportunities of revising it, so a little before his Death, he sent the first part of it to the Press.

In the beginning of it, he gives an *Essay* of his Excellent way of *Methodizing* things, in which he was so great a Master, that whatever he undertook, he would presently cast into so

perfect a Scheme, that he could never afterwards Correct it : He runs out Copiously upon the Argument of the *Impossibility* of an *Eternal Succession* of Time, to shew that *Time* and *Eternity* are inconsistent one with another ; And that therefore all *Duration* that was past, and defined by *Time*, could not be from *Eternity*, and he shews the *difference* between *successive Eternity* already past, and one to come : So that though the *latter* is possible, the *former* is not so ; for all the parts of the *former* have actually been, and therefore being defined by *Time*, cannot be *Eternal* ; whereas the *other* are still future to all *Eternity*, so that this reasoning cannot be turned to prove the *possibility* of *Eternal Successions*, that have been, as well as *Eternal Successions* that shall be. This he follows with a Strength, I never met with in any that Managed it before him.

He brings next all those Moral Arguments, to prove that the *World* had a *beginning* ; agreeing to the Account *Moses* gives of it, as that no *History* rises higher, than near the time of the *Deluge* ; and that the *first Foundation* of Kingdoms, the *Invention* of Arts, the *Beginnings* of all Religions, the *gradual Plantation* of the World, and *Increase* of Mankind, and the *Consent* of Nations do agree with it. In managing these, as he shews *profound Skill* both in *Historical*, and *Philosophical* Learning, so he gives a Noble *Discovery* of his great Candor and Probity, that he would

would not Impose on the Reader with a false shew of reasoning by Arguments, that he knew had Flaws in them ; and therefore upon every one of these, he adds such Allays, as in a great measure lessened and took off their force, with as much Exactness of Judgment, and strictness of Censure, as if he had been set to Plead for the other Side: And indeed sums up the whole Evidence for Religion, as impartially as ever he did in a Tryal for Life or Death to the Jury; which how Equally and Judiciously he always did, the whole Nation well knows.

After that, he Examines the *Ancient Opinions* of the *Philosophers*, and enlarges with a great variety of curious Reflections in answering that only Argument, that has any appearance of Strength for the *Casual* production of Man, from the *origination of Insects* out of *putrescied Matter*, as is commonly supposed, and he concluded the Book, shewing how *Rational* and *Philosophical* the Account which *Moses* gives of it is. There is in it all a sagacity and quickness of Thought, mixed with great and curious Learning, that I confess I never met together in any other Book on that Subject: Among other Conjectures, one he gives concerning the Deluge is, *that he did not think the Face of the Earth and the Waters, were altogether the same before the Universal Deluge, and after: But possibly the Face of the Earth was more even than now it is: The Seas possibly more dilated and extended,*

tended, and not so deep as now: And a little after, possibly the Seas have undermined much of the appearing Continent of Earth. This I the rather take notice of, because it hath been since his Death, made out in a most Ingenious, and most Elegantly Writ Book, by Mr. *Burget* of *Christ's College* in *Cambridge*, who has given such an *Essay* towards the proving the possibility of an universal Deluge, and from thence, has Collected with great Sagacity what *Paradise* was before it, as has not been offered by any *Philosopher* before him.

While the Judge was thus imploying his time, the Lord Chief Justice *Keyling* dying, he was on the 18th. of May 1671, promoted to be Lord Chief Justice of England. He had made the Pleas of the Crown one of his Chief Studies, and by much search, and long Observation, had Composed that great Work concerning them, formerly mentioned: He that holds the high Office of *Justiciary* in that Court, being the Chief Trustee, and Assertor of the Liberties of his Country; all People applauded this Choice, and thought their Liberties could not be better deposited than in the hands of one, that as he understood them well, so he had all the Justice and Courage, that so Sacred a Trust required. One thing was much observed and commended in him, that when there was a great Inequality in the Ability and Learning of the Councillors that were to Plead one against another:

ther : He thought it became him, as the Judge, to Supply that ; so he would *enforce* what the weaker Council managed but *indifferently*, and not suffer the *more Learned* to carry the Business by the *Advantage* they had over the others in their *quickness* and *skill* in Law, and *readiness* in Pleading, till all things were cleared in which the *Merits* and *Strength* of the ill defended Cause lay. He was not satisfied barely to give his Judgment in Causes, but did especially in all Intricate ones, give such an Account of the Reasons that prevailed with him ; that the Council did not only acquiesce in his Authority, but were so convinced by his Reasons, that I have heard many profess that he brought them often to change their Opinions ; so that his giving of Judgment was really a learned Lecture upon that point of Law : And which was yet more, the Parties themselves, though Interest does too commonly corrupt the Judgment, were generally satisfied with the Justice of his decisions, even when they were made against them. His Impartial Justice, and great Diligence, drew the Chief Practice after him, into whatsoever Court he came : Since, though the Courts of *Common-Pleas*, the *Exchequer* and the *Kings-Bench*, are appointed for the Tryal of Causes of different Natures, yet it is easie to bring most Causes into any of them, as the Council or Attorneys please ; so as he had drawn the Business much after him, both into the *Common-Pleas*,
and

and the *Exchequer*, it now followed him into the *Kings-Bench*, and many Causes that were depending in the *Exchequer* and not determined, were let fall there, and brought again before him in the Court to which he was now removed. And here did he spend the rest of his publick Life and Employment: But about Four years and a half after this Advancement, he who had hitherto enjoyed a firm and vigorous Health, to which his great Temperance, and the Equality of his Mind, did not a little conduce, was on a sudden brought very low by an Inflammation in his Midriff, which in two days time broke the Constitution of his Health to such a degree, that he never recovered it; He became so Asthmatical, that with great difficulty he could fetch his Breath, that determined in a Dropsie, of which he afterwards Died. He understood Physick so well, that considering his Age, he concluded his Distemper must carry him off in a little time; and therefore he resolved to have some of the last Months of his Life reserved to himself, that being freed of all Worldly Cares, he might be preparing for his Change: He was also so much disabled in his Body, that he could hardly, though supported by his Servants, walk through *Westminster-Hall*, or endure the Toil of Business; he had been a long time wearied with the distractions that his Employment had brought on him, and his Profession was become ungrateful to him; he loved to apply himself

himself wholly to better Purposes, as will appear by a Paper that he writ on this Subject, which I shall here Insert.

First, *If I consider the Business of my Profession, whether as an Advocate, or as a Judge, it is true I do acknowledge by the Institution of Almighty God, and the Dispensation of his Providence, I am bound to Industry and Fidelity in it: And as it is an Act of Obedience unto his Will, it carries with it something of Religious Duty, and I may and do take Comfort in it, and expect a Reward of my Obedience to him, and the good that I do to Mankind therein, from the bounty and beneficence and promise of Almighty God; and it is true also that without such Employments, civil Societies cannot be supported, and great good redounds to Mankind from them, and in those respects the Conscience of my own Industry, Fidelity and Integrity in them, is a great Comfort and satisfaction to me. But yet this I must say concerning these Employments, considered simply in themselves, that they are very full of Cares, Anxieties and Perturbations.*

Secondly, *That though they are beneficial to others, yet they are of the least benefit to him that is employed in them.*

Thirdly, *That they do necessarily involve the party, whose Office it is, in great Dangers, Difficulties, and Calumnies.*

Fourthly, *That they only serve for the Meridian of this Life, which is short and uncertain.*

Fifthly,

Fifthly, *That though it be my Duty faithfully to serve in them, while I am called to them, and till I am duly called from them, yet they are great consumers of that little time we have here, which as it seems to me, might be better spent in a pious contemplative Life, and a due provision for Eternity: I do not know a better temporal Employment than Martha had, in testifying her Love and Duty to our Saviour, by making provision for him, yet our Lord tells her, That though she was troubled about many things, there was only one thing necessary, and Mary had chosen the better part.*

By this the Reader will see that he continued in his Station upon no other Consideration, but that being set in it by the *Providence* of God, he judged he could not abandon that Post which was assigned him, without preferring his own *private Inclination* to the *Choice* God had made for him; but now that *same Providence* having by this *great Distemper* disengaged him from the *Obligation* of holding a Place, which he was no longer able to *discharge*, he resolved to resign it: This was no sooner surmised abroad, than it drew upon him the *Importunities* of all his Friends, and the clamour of the whole Town to divert him from it, but all was to no purpose; there was but one Argument that could move him, which was, *that he was obliged to continue in the Employment God had put him in for the good of the publick*: but to this he had such an Answer, that even those who were
most

most concerned in his withdrawing, could not but see, that the Reasons inducing him to it, were but too strong; so he made Applications to His Majesty for his *Writ of Ease*, which the King was very unwilling to grant him, and offered to let him hold his Place still, he doing what Business he could in his Chamber; but he said, *he could not with a good Conscience continue in it*, since he was no longer able to discharge the Duty belonging to it.

But yet such was the General Satisfaction which all the Kingdom received by his Excellent Administration of Justice, that the King, though he could not well deny his Request, yet he deferred the Granting of it as long as was possible: Nor could the Lord Chancellor be prevailed with to move the King to hasten his Discharge, though the Chief Justice often pressed him to it.

At last having wearied himself, and all his Friends, with his importunate Desires, and growing sensibly weaker in Body, he did upon the 21st. day of February, 28. Car. 2. Anno Dom. 167 $\frac{1}{2}$. go before a Master of the Chancery, with a little Parchment Deed, drawn by himself, and written all with his own hand, and there Sealed and Delivered it, and acknowledged it to be Enrolled, and afterwards he brought the Original Deed to the Lord Chancellor, and did formally surrender his Office in these Words.

Omnibus

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos prefens Scriptura pervenerit, Matthæus Hale, Miles, Capitalis Justiciarius Domini Regis ad placita, coram ipso Rege tenenda, assignatus, Salutem in Domino Sempiternam. Noveritis me prefatum Matthæum Hale, militem, jam senem factum & variis Corporis mei senilis morbis & infirmitatibus dire Laborantem & adhuc Detentum, hâc Chartâ meâ Resignare & rursum reddere Serenissimo Domino Noſtro Carolo Secundo Dei Gratiâ Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Regi, Fidei Defensori, &c. Prædictum Officium Capitalis Justiciarii ad placita coram ipso Rege tenenda, humillime petens quod hoc Scriptum irrotuletur de Recordo. In cujus rei Testimonium huic chartæ meæ Resignationis Sigillum meum apposui. Dat' vicesimo primo Die Februarii Anno Regni dict. Dom. Regis nunc Vicesimo Octavo.

He made this Instrument as he told the *Lord Chancellor* for two Ends, the one was to shew the World his own *free Concurrence* to his Removal: Another was to obviate an Objection heretofore made, *That a Chief Justice being placed by Writ, was not removable at Pleasure, as Judges by Patent were*; Which Opinion, as he said, was once held by his Predecessor the *Lord Chief Justice Keyling*, and though he himself were always of another Opinion, yet he thought it reasonable to prevent such a Scruple.

He had the day before surrendered to the King in Person, who parted from him with great
Grace,

Grace, wishing him molt heartily the return of his Health, and assuring him that he would still look upon him as one of his Judges, and have recourse to his Advice when his Health would permit, and in the mean time would continue his Pension during his Life.

The Good man thought this Bounty too great, and an ill Precedent for the King, and therefore Writ a Letter to the Lord Treasurer, earnestly desiring that his Pension might be only during Pleasure, but the King would grant it for Life, and make it payable Quarterly.

And yet for a whole Month together, he would not suffer his Servant to sue out his Patent for his Pension, and when the first Payment was received, he ordered a great part of it to Charitable Uses, and said, he intended most of it should be so Employed as long as it was paid him.

At last he happened to Die upon the Quarter day, which was Christmas day, and though this might have given some occasion to a dispute whether the Pension for that Quarter were recoverable, yet the King was pleased to decide that Matter against himself, and ordered the Pension to be paid to his Executors.

As soon as he was discharged from his great Place, he returned home with as much Cheerfulness, as his want of Health could admit of, being now eased of a Burthen he had been of late groaning under, and so made more capable

of Enjoying that which he had much wished for, according to his Elegant Translation of, or rather Paraphrase upon, those excellent Lines in *Seneca's Thyestes. Act. 2.*

*Stet quicunque volet potens,
Aula culmine lubrico:
Me dulcis Saturet quies.
Obscuro positus loco,
Leni perfruar otio:
Nullis nota Quiritibus,
Ætas per tacitum fluat.
Sic cum Transferint mei,
Nullo cum Strepitu dies,
Plebeius moriar Senex.
Illi mors gravis incubat,
Qui notus nimis omnibus,
Ignotus moritur sibi.*

Let him that will ascend, the tot'ring Seat
Of courtly Grandeur, and become as great
As are his mounting Wishes: As for me,
Let sweet repose and rest my Portion be;
Give me some mean obscure Recess a Sphere
Out of the Road or Business, or the fear
Of falling lower; where I sweetly may
My self and dear retirement still enjoy:
Let not my Life or Name be known unto
The Grandees of the Time, tost to and fro
By Censures or Applause; but let my Age
Slide gently by, not overthrow the Stage

Of

Of publick Action, unheard, unseen,
 And unconcern'd, as if I ne'er had been.
 And thus, while I shall pass my silent days
 In shady privacy, free from the Noise
 And bustles of the mad World, then shall I
 A good old Innocent Plebeian Die.
 Death is a mere Surprise, a very Snare
 To him, that makes it his Lifes greatest Care,
 To be a publick Pageant, known to all,
 But unacquainted with himself, doth fall.

Having now attained to that Privacy which he had no less seriously than piously wished for, he called all his servants that had belonged to his Office together, and told them, *he had now laid down his Place, and so their Employments were determined*; upon that, he advised them to see for themselves, and gave to some of them very considerable Presents, and to every one of them a Token, and so dismissed all those that were not his Domesticks: He was discharged the fifteenth of February 1674: And lived till the Christmas following, but all the while was in so ill a State of Health, that there was no hopes of his Recovery: he continued still to retire often, both for his Devotion and Studies, and as long as he could go, went constantly to his Closet, and when his Infirmities encreased on him, so that he was not able to go thither himself, he made his servants carry him thither in a Chair. At last, as the Winter came on,

he saw with great Joy his deliverance approaching, for besides his being *weary* of the World, and his *longings* for the Blessedness of another State, his Pains encreased so on him, that no Patience interior to his could have born them without a great uneasiness of mind; Yet he expressed to the last such *submission* to the will of God, and so *equal* a Temper under them, that it was visible then what *mighty Effects* his Philosophy and Christianity had on him, in supporting him under such a heavy Load.

He could not lie down in Bed above a Year before his Death, by reason of the *Asthma*, but sat rather than lay in it.

He was attended on in his Sickness by a Pious and Worthy Divine Mr. *Evan Griffith* Minister of the Parish; and it was observed that in all the Extremities of his Pain, when ever he Prayed by him, he forbore all Complaints or Groans, but with his Hands and Eyes lifted up, was fixed in his Devotions: Not long before his Death, the Minister told him, *there was to be a Sacrament next Sunday at Church, but he believed he could not come and partake with the rest; therefore he would give it to him in his own House*; But he answered, *No his Heavenly Father had prepared a Feast for him, and he would go to his Fathers House to partake of it*: So he made himself be carried thither in his Chair, where he received the Sacrament on his Knees, with great Devotion, which it may be supposed was
the

the greater, because he apprehended it was to be his Last, and so took it as his *Vaticum* and Provision for his Journey. He had some secret unaccountable Presages of his Death, for he said, *that if he did not die on such a day, (which fell to be the 25th of November) he believed he should Live a Month longer,* and he Died that very day Month. He continued to enjoy the free use of his Reason and Sence to the last Moment, which he had often and earnestly Prayed for during his Sickness: And when his Voice was so sunk that he could not be heard, they perceived by the almost constant lifting up of his Eyes and Hands, that he was still Aspiring towards that Blessed State, of which he was now speedily to be possessed.

He had for many years a particular Devotion for *Christmas day*, and after he had received the Sacrament, and been in the performance of the publick Worship of that day, he commonly wrote a Copy of Verses on the Honour of his Saviour, as a fit Expression of the Joy he felt in his Soul, at the return of that Glorious Anniversary. There are Seventeen of those Copies Printed, which he Writ on Seventeen several *Christmas days*, by which the World has a Taste of his Poetical Genius in which, if he had thought it worth his time to have Excelled; he might have been Eminent as well as in other things; but he Writ them rather to entertain himself, than to merit the Lawrel.

which I shall here add one which has not been yet Printed, and it is not unlikely it was the last he Writ; it is a Paraphrase on *Simeon's-song*; I take it from his blotted Copy not at all finished, so the Reader is to make Allowance for any Imperfection he may find in it.

Blessed Creator, who before the Birth
Of Time, or e'er the Pillars of the Earth
Were fix'd or form'd, did'st lay that great Design
Of Man's Redemption, and did'st define
In thine Eternal Councils all the Scene
Of that stupendous Business, and when
It shall appear, and though the very day
Of its Epiphany, concealed lay
Within thy mind, yet thou wert pleas'd to show
Some glimpses of it, unto Men below,
In Visions, Types, and Prophecies, as we
Things at a distance in Perspective see:
But thou wert pleas'd to let thy Servant know
That that Blest hour, that seem'd to move so slow
Through former Ages, should at last attain
Its time, e're my few Sands, that yet remain
Are spent; and that these Aged Eyes
Should see the day, when Jacob's Star should rise.
And now thou hast fulfill'd it, blessed Lord
Dismiss me now, according to thy word;
And let my Aged Body now return
To Rest, and Dust, and drop into an Urn;
For I have liv'd enough, mine Eyes hath seen
Thy much desired Salvation, that hath been

*So long so dearly wish'd, the Joy; the Hope
 Of all the Ancient Patriarchs, the Scope
 Of all the Prophecies, and Mysteries,
 Of all the Types unvail'd, the Histories
 Of Jewish Church unvail'd, and the bright
 And Orient Sun arisen to give light
 To Gentiles, and the joy of Israel,
 The Worlds Redeemer, blest Emanuel.
 Let this sight close mine Eyes, 'tis loss to see,
 After this Vision, any sight but Thee.*

Thus he used to Sing on the former *Christ-*
mas days, but now he was to be admitted to
 bear his part in the new Songs above: so that
 day which he had spent in so much Spiritual
 Joy, proved to be indeed the day of his Jubilee
 and Deliverance, for between two and three in
 the Afternoon, he breathed out his Righteous
 and Pious Soul. His End was Peace, he had no
 struglings nor seem'd to be in any pangs in his
 last Moments. He was Buried on the 4th of *Ja-*
nuary, Mr. *Griffith* Preaching the Funeral Ser-
 mon his Text was the 57 of *Isa.* 1 verse. *The*
Righteous perisheth, and no Man layeth it to
heart; and Merciful Men are taken away, none
considering that the Righteous is taken away from
the Evil to come, Which how fitly it was ap-
 plicable upon this occasion, all that consider
 the course of his Life, will easily conclude. He
 was Interred in the Church yard of *Alderly*,
 among his Ancestors; he did not much ap-

prove of Burying in Churches, and used to say *the Churches were for the Living, and the Church yards for the Dead*. His Monument was like himself, decent and plain. The Tombstone was black Marble, and the sides were black and white Marble, upon which he himself had ordered this bare and humble Inscription to be made.

HIC INHUMATUR CORPUS
MATTHEI HALE, MILITIS;
ROBERTI HALE, ET JOANNÆ
UXORIS EJUS FILII UNICI
NATI IN HAC PAROCHIA DE ALDERLY,
PRIMO DIE NOVEMBRIS ANNO DOM.
1609. DENATI VERO IBIDEM VICESI-
MO QUINTO DIE DECEMBRIS ANNO
DOM. 1674. ETATIS SUÆ, LXVII.

Having thus given an Account of the most remarkable things of his Life, I am now to present the Reader with such a Character of him, as the laying his several Virtues together will amount to: in which I know how difficult a Task I undertake, for to Write defectively of Him, were to injure Him, and lessen the Memory of one to whom I intend to do all the Right that is in my Power: On the other hand, there is so much here to be commended and proposed for the Imitation of others, that I am afraid some may imagine, I am rather making a Picture of Him, from an abstracted Idea of great Virtues, and Perfections, than setting him

him out, as he truly was: But there is great Encouragement in this, that I write concerning a Man so fresh in all Peoples Remembrance, that is so lately Dead, and was so much and so well known, that I shall have many Vouchers, who will be ready to justify me in all that I am to relate, and to add a great deal to what I can say.

It has appeared in the Account of his various Learning, how great his Capacities were, and how much they were improved by constant Study: He rose always early in the Morning, he loved to walk much abroad, not only for his Health, but he thought it opened his Mind, and enlarged his thoughts to have the Creation of God before his Eyes. When he set himself to any Study, he used to cast his design in a Scheme, which he did with a great exactness of Method; he took nothing on Trust, but pursued his Enquiries as far as they could go, and as he was humble enough to confess his Ignorance, and submit to Mysteries which he could not comprehend, so he was not easily imposed on, by any shews of reason, or the Bugbears of vulgar Opinion: He brought all his Knowledge as much to scientific Principles, as he possibly could, which made him neglect the Study of Tongues, for the bent of his Mind lay another way. Discouraging once of this to some, they said, *they looked on the Common Law, as a Study that could not be brought*
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into a Scheme, nor formed into a Rational Science, by reason of the Indigestedness of it, and the Multiplicity of the Case in it, which rendered it very hard to be understood, or reduced into a Method; But he said, he was not of their Mind, and so quickly after, he drew with his own hand, a Scheme of the whole Order and Parts of it, in a large sheet of Paper, to the great Satisfaction of those to whom he sent it. Upon this hint, some pressed him to Compile a Body of the English Law; It could hardly ever be done by a Man who knew it better, and would with more Judgement and Industry have put it into Method; But he said, as it was a Great and Noble Design, which would be of vast Advantage to the Nation; so it was too much for a private Man to undertake: It was not to be entered upon but by the Command of a Prince, and with the Communicated Endeavours of some of the most Eminent of the Profession.

He had great vivacity in his Fancy, as may appear by his Inclination to *Poetry*, and the lively Illustrations, and many tender strains in his Contemplation; But he look't on Eloquence and Wit, as things to be used very chastly, in serious Matters which should come under a severer Inquiry: Therefore he was both, when at the *Bar*, and on the *Bench*, a great Enemy to all Eloquence or Rhetorick in Pleading: He said *if the Judge or Jury had a right understanding, it signified nothing,*

thing, but a waste of Time, and loss of Words; and if they were weak, and easily wrought on, it was a more decent way of Corrupting them, by bribing their Fancies, and biasing their Affections; And wondered much at that affectation of the French Lawyers in imitating the Roman Orators in their Pleadings. For the Oratory of the Romans, was occasioned by their popular Government, and the Factions of the City, so that those who intended to excel in the Pleading of Causes, were trained up in the Schools of the Rhetors, till they became ready and expert in that luscious way of Discourse. It is true, the Compositions of such a Man as Tully was, who mixed an extraordinary Quickness, an exact Judgment, and a just Decorum with his skill in Rhetorick, do still entertain the Readers of them with great Pleasure: But at the same time it must be acknowledged, that there is not that chastity of Style, that closeness of Reasoning, nor that justness of Figures in his Orations, that is in his other Writings; So that a great deal was said by him, rather because he knew it would be acceptable to his Auditors, than that it was approv'd of by himself; and all who read them, will acknowledge, they are better pleased with them as *Essays of Wit and Style*, than as *Pleadings*, by which such a Judge, as ours was, would not be much wrought on. And if there are such Grounds to censure the Performances of the greatest Master in Eloquence,

quence, we may easily infer what nauseous Discourses the other Orators made, since in *Oratory* as well as in *Poetry*, none can do *Indifferently*. So our Judge wondered to find the *French*, that live under a *Monarchy*, so fond of imitating that which was an ill Effect of the *Popular Government* of *Rome*: He therefore pleaded himself always in few Words, and home to the Point: And when he was a Judge, he held those that Pleaded before him, to be the main Hinge of the Business, and cut them short when they made Excursions about Circumstances of no Moment, by which he saved much time, and made the chief Difficulties be well Stated and Cleared.

There was another Custom among the *Romans*, which he as much admired, as he despised their *Rhetorick*, which was, that the *Juris-Consults* were the Men of the highest Quality, who were bred to be capable of the chief Employment in the State, and became the greatest Masters of their Law: These gave their Opinions of all Cases that were put to them freely, judging it below them to take any Present for it; and indeed they were only the true Lawyers among them, whose Resolutions were of that Authority, that they made one *Classis* of those *Materials* out of which *Trebonian* compiled the *Digests* under *Justinian*; for the Orators or *Causidici* that Pleaded Causes, knew little of the Law, and only employ'd their mercenary Tongues to work
on

on the Affections of the People and Senate or the Prætors: Even in most of *Tullies Orations* there is little of Law, and that little which they might sprinkle in their Declamations, they had not from their own Knowledge, but the Resolution of some *Juris-Consult*: According to that famous Story of *Servius Sulpitius*, who was a Celebrated Orator, and being to receive the Resolution of one of those that were Learned in the Law, was so Ignorant, that he could not understand it; Upon which the *Juris-Consult* reproached him, and said, *it was a shame for him that was a Noble-man, a Senator, and a Pleader of Causes, to be thus Ignorant of Law*: This touched him so sensibly, that he set about the Study of it, and became one of the most Eminent *Juris Consults* that ever were at Rome. Our Judge thought it might become the greatness of a Prince, to encourage such a sort of Men, and of Studies; in which, none in the Age he lived in was equal to the great *Selden*, who was truly in our *English Law*, what the old *Roman Juris Consults* were in theirs.

But where a decent Eloquence was allowable, Judge Hale knew how to have excell'd as much as any, either in illustrating his Reasonings, by proper and well pursued Similies, or by such tender Expressions as might work most on the Affections, so that the present Lord Chancellor, has often said of him since his Death, *that he was the greatest Orator he had known*; for tho' his

his Words came not fluently from him, yet when they were out, they were the most Significant and Expressive, that the matter could bear : Of this sort there are many in his *Contemplations* made to quicken his own *Dévotion*, which have a Life in them becoming him that used them, and a softness fit to melt even the hardest Tempers, accommodated to the Gravity of the Subject, and apt to excite warm thoughts in the Readers, that as they shew his excellent Temper that brought them out, and applied them to himself, so they are of great use to all, who would both inform and quicken their Minds. Of his Illustrations of things by proper Similies, I shall give a large Instance out of his Book of the *Origination of Mankind*, design'd to expose the several different *Hypotheses* the Philosophers fell on, concerning the *Eternity* and *Original* of the *Universe*, and to prefer the *Account* given by *Moses*, to all their *Conjectures* ; in which, if my taste does not misguide me, the Reader will find a rare and very agreeable mixture, both of fine Wit, and solid Learning and Judgment.

[That which may illustrate my Meaning, in this preference of the *revealed Light* of the *Holy Scriptures*, touching this Matter, above the *Essays* of a *Philosophical Imagination*, may be this. Suppose that *Greece* being unacquainted with the curiosity of Mechanical Engins, though known in some remote Region of the World,

World, and that an excellent Artift had secretly brought and deposited in some field or forest, some excellent Watch or Clock, which had been so formed, that the Original of its Motion was hidden, and involv'd in some close contriv'd piece of Mechanism, that this Watch was so framed, that the Motion thereof might have lasted a Year, or some such time as might give a reasonable Period for their Philosophical descanting concerning it, and that in the plain Table there had been not only the Description and Indication of Hours, but the Configurations & Indications of the various Phases of the Moon, the motion and place of the Sun in the Ecliptick, and divers other curious Indications of Celestial Motions, and that the Scholars of the several Schools, of *Epicurus*, of *Aristotle*, of *Plato*, and the rest of those Philosophical Sects, had casually in their Walk, found this admirable *Automation*; what kind of Work would there have been made by every Sect, in giving an account of this Phænomenon? We should have had the *Epicurean* Sect, have told the Bystanders according to their preconceiv'd Hypothesis, *that this was nothing else but an accidental concretion of Atoms, that haply fallen together had made up the Index, the Wheels, and the Ballance, and that being haply fallen into this Posture, they were put into Motion.* Then the *Cartesian* falls in with him, as to the main of their Supposition, but tells him, *that he doth not sufficiently explicate*

cate how the Engine is put into Motion, and therefore to furnish this Motion, there is a certain Materia Subtilis that pervades this Engine, and the Moveable parts, consisting of several Globular Atoms apt for Motion, they are thereby, and by the Mobility of the Globular Atoms put into Motion. A third finding fault with the two former, because those Motions are so regular, and do express the various Phenomena of the distribution of Time, and of the Heavenly Motions; therefore it seems to him, that this Engine and Motion also so Analogical to the Motions of the Heavens, was wrought by some admirable conjunction of the Heavenly Bodies, which formed this Instrument and its Motions, in such an admirable Correspondency to its own Existence. A fourth, disliking the suppositions of the three former, tells the rest, that he hath a more plain and evident Solution of the Phenomenon, namely, The universal Soul of the World, or Spirit of Nature, that formed so many sorts of Insects with so many Organs, Faculties, and such congruity of their whole composition, and such curious and various Motions as we may observe in them, hath formed and set into Motion this admirable Automaton, and regulated and ordered it, with all these congruities we see in it. Then steps in an Aristotelian, and being dissatisfied with all the former Solutions, tells them, Gentlemen, you are all mistaken, your Solutions are Inexplicable and Unsatisfactory, you have taken up certain precarious Hypotheses, and being prepos-

sessed

sed with these Creatures of your own fancies, and in love with them, right or wrong you form all your Conceptions of things according to those fancies and pre-conceived imaginations. The short of the Business is, this Machina is eternal, and so are all the Motions of it, and in as much as a Circular Motion hath no beginning or end, this Motion that you see both in the Wheels and Index, and the successive Indications of the Celestial Motions, is eternal, and without beginning. And this is a ready and expedite way of solving the Phenomena, without so much ado as you have made about it.

And whilst all the Masters were thus contriving the Solution of the Phenomenon, in the hearing of the Artist that made it, and when they had all spent their Philosophizing upon it, the Artist that made this Engine, and all this while listened to their admirable Fancies, tells them, *Gentlemen you have discovered very much excellency of Invention touching this piece of Work that is before you; but you are all miserably mistaken: for it was I that made this Watch, and brought it hither, and I will shew you how I made it. First, I wrought the Spring, and the Fusee, and the Wheels and the Ballance, and the Case and Table; I fitted them one to another, and placed these several Axes that are to direct the Motions, of the Index to discover the hour of the Day, of the Figure that discovers the Phases of the Moon, and the other various Motions that you see; and then I put it together, and wound up the Spring, which hath given all these Motions, that you see in this*

curious piece of Work, and that you may be sure I tell you true, I will tell you the whole Order and Progress of my making, disposing, and ordering of this Piece of Work, the several Materials of it, the manner of the forming of every individual part of it, and how long I was about it. This plain and evident discovery renders all these excogitated *Hypotheses* of those Philosophical *Enthusiasts* vain and ridiculous, without any great help of Rhetorical flourishes, or Logical confutations. And much of the same nature is that disparity of the *Hypotheses* of the learned Philosophers in relation to the Origination of the World and Man, after a great deal of dust raised, and fanciful Explications and unintelligible *Hypothesis*. The plain, but Divine Narrative by the Hand of *Moses*, full of Sense and Congruity, and clearness, and reasonableness in it self, does at the same Moment give us a true and clear discovery of this great Mystery, and renders all the Essays of the generality of the Heathen Philosophers to be vain, inevident, and indeed inexplicable Theories, the Creatures of Phantasie and Imagination, and nothing else.]

As for his *Vertues*, they have appeared so Conspicuous in all the several Transactions and turns of his Life, that it may seem needless to add any more of them, than has been already related, but there are many *particular Instances* which I knew not how to fit to the *several Years* of his Life, which will give us a clearer and better view of him.

He was a *devout* Christian, a *sincere* Protestant, and a *true Son* of the Church of England; moderate towards *Dissenters*, and just even to those from whom he differed most; which appeared signally in the care he took of preserving the *Quakers*, from that mischief that was like to fall on them by *declaring their Marriages void*, and so bastarding their Children; but he considered *Marriage* and *Succession* as a *Right of Nature*, from which none ought to be barred, what mistake soever they might be under, in the points of *revealed Religion*.

And therefore in a Trial that was before him, when a *Quaker* was sued for some Debts owing by his Wife before he Married her, and the *Quakers* Council pretended, *That it was no Marriage that had past between them, since it was not Solemnized according to the Rules of the Church of England*; he declared, that he was not willing on his own opinion to make their Children Bastards, and gave directions to the Jury to find it *special*. It was a reflection on the whole Party, that one of them to avoid an Inconvenience he had sahn, in thought to have preserved himself by a defence, that if it had been allowed in Law, must have made their whole issue Bastards, and incapable of Succession, and for all their pretended *friendship* to one another, if this *Judge* had not been more their friend, than one of those they so called, their Posterity had been little beholding to them. But he governed himself indeed by the Law of

the Gospel, of *doing to others what he would have others do to him*; and therefore because he would have thought it a *hardship* not without *Cruelty*, if amongst *Papists* all Marriages were nulled which had not been made with all the Ceremonies in the *Roman Ritual*, so he applying this to the case of the *Sectaries*, he thought all Marriages made according to the several persuasions of Men, ought to have their Effects in Law.

He used constantly to worship God in his Family, performing it always himself, if there was no Clergyman present: But as to his *private Exercises* in devotion, he took that extraordinary care to keep what he did secret, that this part of his Character must be defective, except it be acknowledged that Humility in covering it, commends him much more than the highest expression of Devotion could have done.

From the first time that the Impressions of Religion settled deeply in his Mind. He used great caution to conceal it: not only in obedience to the Rules given by our Saviour of *Fasting, Praying, and giving Alms in Secret*; but from a particular distrust he had of himself, for he said he was afraid, he should at some time or other, do some enormous thing, which if he were look't on as a very Religious Man, might cast a reproach on the profession of it, and give great advantages to impious Men, to blaspheme the name of God: *But a Tree is known by its Fruits*; and he lived not only free of Blemishes, or Scandal, but shined in all the parts of his
Con-

Conversation: and perhaps the *distrust* he was in of himself, contributed not a little to the *Purity* of his Life, for he being thereby obliged to be more Watchful over himself, and to depend more on the aids of the Spirit of God, no wonder if that humble temper produced those excellent Effects on him.

He had a Soul enlarged and raised above that mean appetite of *loving Money*, which is generally the *root of all Evil*. He did not take the *Profits* that he might have had by his *Practice*; for in common Cases, when those who came to ask his Council gave him a Piece, he used to give back the half, and so made Ten shillings his Fee, in ordinary Matters that did not require much time or Study: If he saw a Cause was *Unjust*, he for a great while would not meddle further in it, but to give his Advice that *it was so*; If the Parties after that, would go on, they were to seek another Councellour, for he would assist none in Acts of Injustice: If he found the Cause *doubtful* or *weak* in point of Law, he always advis'd his Clients to *agree their Business*: Yet afterwards he abated much of the Scrupulosity he had about Causes that appeared at *first view* Injust upon this occasion: There were two Causes brought to him, which by the ignorance of the Party, or their Attorney, were so ill represented to him, that they *seem'd* to be *very bad*; but he enquiring more narrowly into them, found they were *really very good and just*: So after this he slackned much of his former

Strictness, of his refusing to meddle in Causes upon the ill Circumstances that appear'd in them at first.

In his Pleading he abhorred those too common faults of *misreciting* Evidences, *quoting* Precedents, or Books *falsly*, or *asserting* things *Confidently*; by which ignorant Juries, or *weak* Judges, are too often wrought on. He pleaded with the same Sincerity that he used in the other parts of his Life, and used to say, *It was as great a dishonour as a Man was capable of, that for a little Money he was to be hired to say, or do otherwise than as he thought*: All this he ascribed to the *unmeasurable desire of heaping up Wealth*, which corrupted the Souls of some that seem'd to be otherwise born and made for *great things*.

When he was a Practitioner, differences were often referr'd to him, which he settled, but would accept of no reward for his Pains, though offered by both Parties together, after the agreement was made; for he said *in those cases he was made a Judge, and a Judge ought to take no Money*. If they told him, *he lost much of his time in considering their Business, and so ought to be acknowledged for it*; his answer was (as one that heard it told me,) *Can I spend my Time better, than to make People friends, must I have no time allowed me to do good in.*

He was naturally a quick man, yet by much Practice on himself, he subdued that to such a degree, that he would never run suddenly into any Conclusion concerning any Matter of importance

portance. *Festina lente* was his beloved *Motto*, which he ordered to be ingraven on the Head of his Staff, and was often heard say, *that he had observ'd many witty Men run into great Errors, because they did not give themselves time to think, but the heat of Imagination making some Notions appear in good Colours to them, they without staying till that cooled, were violently led by the Impulses it made on them, whereas calm and slow Men, who pass for dull in the common estimation, could search after Truth and find it out, as with more deliberation, so with greater certainty.*

He laid aside the tenth Penny of all he got for the Poor, and took great care to be well informed of proper *Object's* for his Charities: And after he was a Judge, many of the Perquisites of his Place, as his dividend of the Rule and Bx-money, were sent by him to the Goals to discharge poor Prisoners, who never knew from whose hands their Relief came. It is also a Custom for the Marshal of the *Kings-bench*, to present the Judges of that Court with a piece of Plate for a *New-years-gift*, that for the Chief Justice being larger than the rest, This he intended to have refused, but the other Judges told him it belong'd to his Office, and the refusing it would be a prejudice to his Successors, so he was perswaded to take it, but he sent word to the Marshal, *that instead of Plate he should bring him the value of it in Money*, and when he receiv'd it, he immediately sent it to the Prisons, for the relief and discharge of the poor there. He usually

invited his poor Neighbours to Dine with him, and made them sit at Table with himself; and if any of them were Sick, so that they could not come, he would send Meat warm to them from his Table; and he did not only relieve the Poor in his own Parish, but sent Supplies to the Neighbouring Parishes, as there was occasion for it; and he treated them all with the tenderness and familiarity that became one, who consider'd they were of the *same Nature* with *himself*, and were reduc'd to no other *Necessities* but such as he himself might be brought to: But for common Beggars, if any of these came to him as he was in his Walks, when he lived in the Country, he would ask such as were Capable of working, *why they went about so Idly*, if they answer'd. *It was because they could find no Work*, he often sent them to some Field to gather all the Stones in it, and lay them on a Heap, and then would pay them liberally for their Pains. This being done, he used to send his Carts, and caus'd them to be carried to such places of the High-way as needed mending.

But when he was in Town, he dealt his Charities very liberally, even among the Street Beggars, and when some told him, *that he thereby encouraged Idleness, and that most of these were notorious Cheats*, he used to answer, *that he believ'd most of them were such, but among them there were some that were great Objects of Charity, and press'd with grievous Necessities, and that he had rather give his Alms to twenty who might be perhaps*
Rogues,

Rogues, than that one of the other sort should perish for want of that small Relief which he gave them.

He loved Building much, which he affected chiefly, because it imploy'd many poor People, but one thing was observ'd in all his Buildings, that the changes he made in his Houses, was always from *Magnificence* to *Usefulness*, for he avoided every thing that looked like Pomp or Vanity, even in the Walls of his Houses; he had good Judgment in *Architecture*, and an excellent faculty in Contriving well.

He was a *Gentle Landlord* to all his Tenants, and was ever ready upon any reasonable Complaints, to make Abatements, for he was *Merciful* as well as *Righteous*. One instance of this was, of a Widow that liv'd in *London*, and had a small Estate near his House in the Country; from which her Rents were ill return'd to her, and at a Cost which she could not well bear; so she bemoan'd herself to him, and he according to his readiness to assist all poor People, told her, *He would order his Steward to take up her Rents, and the returning them should cost her nothing.* But after that, when there was a falling of Rents in that Country, so that it was necessary to make abatements to the Tenant; yet he would have it to lie on himself, and made the Widow be paid her Rent as formerly.

Another remarkable Instance of his *Justice* and *Goodness* was, that when he found ill Money had been put into his hands he would never suffer it to be vented again, for he thought
it

it was no excuse for him to put false Money in other Peoples hands, because some had put it in his: A great heap of this he had gathered together, for many had so far abus'd his Goodness as to mix base Money among the Fees that were given him; it is like he intended to have destroyed it, but some Thieves who had observ'd it, broke into his Chamber and stole it, thinking they had got a Prize; which he us'd to tell with some pleasure, imagining how they found themselves deceived when they perceiv'd what sort of Booty they had fall'n on.

After he was made a *Judge*, he would needs pay more for every Purchase he made than it was worth; If it had been but a Horse he was to buy, he would have out bid the Price: And when some represented to him, *that he made ill Bargains*, he said, *it became Judges to pay more for what they bought, than the true Value; that so those with whom they dealt, might not think they had any right to their favour, by having sold such things to them at an easie rate: and said it was suitable to the reputation, which a Judge ought to preserve, to make such Bargains, that the World might see they were not too well used upon some secret Account.*

In Sum, his Estate did shew how little he had minded the raising a great Fortune, for from a Hundred pound a Year, he raised it not quite to Nine hundr'd, and of this a very considerable part came in by his share of Mr. *Seldens* Estate: yet this, considering his great Practice while a Coun-

Counsellour, and his constant, frugal, and modest way of Living, was but a small Fortune: In the share that fell to him by Mr. *Selden's* Will, one memorable thing was done by him, with the other Executors, by which they both shewed their regard to their dead Friend, and their Love of the Publick; His Library was valued at some thousands of Pounds, and was believ'd to be one of the curioufests Collections in Europe: So they resolv'd to keep this intire, for the Honour of *Selden's* Memory, and gave it to the *University of Oxford*, where a noble Room was added to the former Library for its Reception, and all due respects have been since shewed by that great and learned Body, to those thier worthy Benefactors, who not only parted so generously with this great Treasure, but were a little put to it how to oblige them, without crossing the Will of their dead Friend, Mr. *Selden* had once intended to give his Library to that *University*, and had left it so by his Will; but having occasion for a Manuscript, which belonged to their Library, they asked of him a Bond of a thousand Pound for its Restitution; this he took so ill at their Hands, that he struck out that part of his Will by which he had given them his Library, and with some passion declared *they should never have it*: The Executors stuck at this a little, but having considered better of it, came to this Resolution; That they were to be the Executors of Mr. *Selden's* Will, and not of his Passion; so they made good

good what he had intended in cold Blood, and past over what his Passion had suggest'd to him.

The parting with so many excellent Books, would have been as uneasie to our Judge, as any thing of that nature could be, if a pious regard to his friends Memory had not prevail'd over him, for he valued *Books and Manuscripts* above all things in the World; he himself had made a great and rare Collection of *Manuscripts* belonging to the Law of *England*, he was forty Years in gathering it, he himself said, *it cost him about Fifteen hundred Pounds*, and calls it in his Will *a Treasure worth having and keeping, and not fit for every mans view*. These all he left to *Lincoln's-Inn*, and for the Information of those who are curious to search into such things; there shall be a Catalogue of them added at the end of this Book.

By all these Instances it does appear, how much he was rais'd above the World, or the love of it. But having thus mastered things without him, his next Study was to overcome his own Inclinations; he was as he said himself *naturally passionate*; I add, *as he said himself*, for that appear'd by no other Evidence, save that sometimes his Colour would rise a little, but he so govern'd himself, that those who liv'd long about him, have told me they never saw him disorder'd with Anger, tho' he met with some Trials, that the nature of Man is as little able to bear, as any whatsoever. There was one who did him a great Injury, which it is not necessary

to

to mention, who coming afterwards to him for his Advice in the settlement of his Estate, he gave it very frankly to him, but would accept of no Fee for it, and thereby shewed both that he could forgive as a Christian, and that he had the Soul of a Gentleman in him not to take money of one that had wronged him so heinously. And when he was asked by one. *How he could use a Man so kindly that had wronged him so much*, his Answer was, *He thanked God he had learned to forget Injuries.* And besides the great temper he expressed in all his publick Employments, in his Family he was a very gentle Master: He was tender of all his Servants, he never turned any away, except they were so faulty, that there was no hope of reclaiming them: When any of them had been long out of the way, or had neglected any part of their Duty; he would not see them at their first coming home, and sometimes not till the next day, least when his displeasure was quick upon him he might have chid them indecently; and when he did reprove them, he did it with that sweetness and gravity, that it appeared he was more concerned for their having done a fault, than for the Offence given by it to himself: But if they became immoral or unruly, then he turned them away, for he said, *he that by his place ought to punish disorders in other People, must by no means suffer them in his own House*: He advanced his Servants according to the time they had been about him, and would never give occasion

casion to Envy among them, by reason the younger Clerks above those who had been longer with him. He treated them all with great affection, rather as a Friend, than a Master, given them often good Advice and Instruction. He made those who had good places under him, give some of their profit to the other Servants who had nothing but their Wages: When he made his Will, he left Legacies to every one of them; But he expressed a more particular kindness for one of them *Robert Gibbon*, of the *Middle Temple*, Esq; In whom he had that Confidence, that he left one of his Executors. I the rather mention him, because of his noble Gratitude to his worthy Benefactor and Master, for he has been so careful to preserve his Memory, that as he set those on me, at whose desire I undertook to write his Life; so he has procured for me a great part of those Memorials, and Informations out of which I have Composed it.

The Judge was of a most tender and compassionate Nature; this did eminently appear in his Trying and giving Sentence upon Criminals, in which he was strictly careful, that nor a circumstance should be neglected, which might any way clear the Fact: He behaved himself with that regard to the Prisoners, which became both the gravity of a Judge, and the pity that was due to Men, whose Lives lay at Stake, so that nothing of jeering or unreasonable severity ever fell from him. He also examined the Witnesses

nesses in the softest manner, taking care that they should be put under no Confusion, which might disorder their Memory: And he Summ'd all the Evidence so equally when he charg'd the *Jury*, that the Criminals themselves never complain'd of him. When it came to him to give Sentence, he did it with that Composedness and Decency, and his Speeches to the Prisoners directing them to prepare for Death were so weighty, so free of all Affectation and so Serious and Devout, that many loved to go to the Tryals, when he sat *Judge*, to be edified by his Speeches, and Behaviour in them, and used to say, *they heard very few such Sermons.*

But tho' the pronouncing the Sentence of Death, was the piece of his Employment, that went most against the Grain with him; yet in that, he could never be molified to any tenderness which hindred Justice. When he was once pressed to recommend some (whom he had Condemned) to his *Majesties* Mercy and Pardon; he answered *He could not think they deserved a Pardon, whom he himself had Adjudged to Die*: So that all he would do in that kind, was to give the King a true Account of the Circumstances of the Fact, after which his *Majesty* was to Consider whether he would enterpose his Mercy, or let Justice take place.

His Mercifulness extended even to his Beasts, for when the Horses that he had kept long, grew Old, he would not suffer them to be sold or much Wrought but orderd his Men to turn
them

them loose on his Grounds, and put them only to easie work, such as going to Market and the like : He used old Dogs also with the same care: His Shepherd having one that was become blind with Age, he intended to have kill'd or lost him, but the *Judge*. coming to hear of it, made one of his Servants bring him home and fed him till he died : And he was scarce ever seen more Angry than with one of his Servants for neglecting a Bird, that he kept, so that it died for want of Food.

He was a great encourager of all young Persons, that he saw follow'd their Books dilligently, to whom he used to give Directions concerning the method of their Study, with a humanity and sweetness, that wrought much on all that came near him, and in a smiling pleasant way, he would admonish them. If he saw any thing amiss in them, particularly, if they went too fine in their Clothes, he would tell them, *It did not become their Profession*. He was not pleas'd to see Students wear long Perriwigs, or Attorneys go with Swords ; so that such young Men as would not be perswaded to part with those Vanities, when they went to him, laid them aside, and went as plain as they could, to avoid the Reproof which they knew they might otherwise expect.

He was very free and communicative in his Discourse, which he most commonly fixed on some good and useful Subject, and loved for an Hour or two at Night, to be visited by some
of

of his Friends. He neither said nor did any thing with Affectation, but used a Simplicity, that was both natural to himself, and very easie to others: And though he never studied the modes of Civility or Court-breeding, yet he knew not what it was to be rude or harsh with any, except he were impertinently addressed to in matters of Justice, then he would raise his Voice a little, and so shake off those Importunities.

In his Furniture, and the service of his Table, and way of Living, he liked the old Plainness so well, that as he would set up none of the new Fashions, so he rather affected a Courtness in the use of the old ones; which was more the effect of his Philosophy than Disposition, for he loved fine Things too much at first: He was always of an equal Temper, rather chearful than merry. Many wondered to see the evenness of his Deportment, in some very sad Passages of his Life.

Having lost one of his Sons, the manner of whose Death had some grievous Circumstances in it; One coming to see him, and Condole, he said to him, *those were the Effects of living long, such must look to see many sad and unacceptable Things*; and having said that, he went to other Discourses, with his ordinary freedom of Mind; for though he had a temper so tender, that sad things were apt enough to make deep Impressions upon him, yet the regard he had to the Wisdom and Providence of God, and the just Estimate he made of all external things, did to ad-

miration maintain the tranquility of his Mind, and he gave no occasion by idleness to Melancholy to corrupt his Spirit, but by the perpetual bent of his thoughts, he knew well how to divert them from being oppressed with the excesses of Sorrow.

He had a generous and noble *Idea* of God in his Mind, and this he found did above all other Considerations preserve his quiet. And indeed that was so well Established in him, that no accidents, how sudden soever, were observed to discompose him: Of which an Eminent Man of that Profession, gave me this instance: In the year 1666, an Opinion did run through the Nation, *That the end of the World would come that year.* This, whether set on by Astrologers, or advanced by those who thought it might have some relation to the *number* of the Beast in the *Revelation*, or promoted by Men of ill Designs, to disturb the publick Peace, had spread mightily among the people; and Judge Hale going that year the *Western Circuit*, it happened, that as he was on the *Bench* at the *Affizes*, a most terrible Storm fell out very unexpectedly, accompanied with such flashes of Lightning, and claps of Thunder, that the like will hardly fall out in an Age, upon which a whisper or a rumour run through the Crowd, *That now was the World to end, and the day of Judgment to begin*, and at this there followed a general Consternation in the whole Assembly, and all Men forgot the Business they were met about, and betook themselves

themselves to their Prayers : This added to the horror raised by the Storm, looked very dismally ; in so much that my Author, a Man of no ordinary Resolution, and firmness of mind confessed it *made a great Impression on himself*. But he told me, *That he did observe the Judge was not a whit affected, and was going on with the Business of the Court in his ordinary manner* : From which he made this conclusion, *That his thoughts were so well fixed, that he believed if the World had been really to end, it would have given him no considerable disturbance*.

But I shall now conclude all that I shall say concerning him with what one of the greatest Men of the Profession of the Law, sent me as an abstract of the Character he had made of him, upon long observation, and much converse with him : It was sent me, that from thence with the other Materials, I might make such a Representation of him to the World, as he indeed deserved, but I resolved not to shred it out in parcels, but to set it down entirely as it was sent me, hoping that as the Reader will be much delighted with it, so the Noble person that sent it, will not be offended with me for keeping it entire, and setting it in the best light I could ; It begins abruptly, being designed to supply the defects of others, from whom I had earlier and more copious Informations.

He would never be brought to discourse of publick Matters in private Conversation, but in questions

stions of Law, when any young Lawyer put a Case to him, he was very communicative, especially while he was at the Bar : But when he came to the Bench, he grew more reserv'd, and would never suffer his Opinion in any case to be known, till he was obliged to declare it Judicially; And he concealed his Opinion in great Cases so carefully, that the rest of the Judges in the same Court could never perceive it : His reason was, Because every Judge ought to give Sentence according to his own Perswasion and Conscience, and not to be sway'd by any respect or deference to another Man's Opinion : And by this means it hath happened sometimes, that when all the Barons of the Exchequer had delivered their Opinions, and agreed in their Reasons and Arguments ; yet he coming to speak last, and differing in Judgment from them, hath exprest himself with so much Weight and Solidity, that the Barons have immediately retracted their Votes, and concurr'd with him. He hath sat as a Judge in all the Courts of Law, and in two of them as Chief, but still where ever he sat, all Business of consequence followed him, and no Man was content to sit down by the Judgment of any other Court, till the Case were brought before him, to see whether he were of the same mind ; And his Opinion being once known, Men did readily acquiesce in it ; and it was very rarely sien, that any Man attempted to bring it about again, and he that did so, did it upon great Disadvantages, and was always lookt upon as a very contentious Person ; So that what Cicero says of Brutus, did very often happen to him, *Eriam quos*

quos contra statuit. & quos placatosque dimisit.

Nor did Men reverence his Judgment and Opinion in Courts of Law only: But his Authority was as great in Courts of Equity, and the same respect and submission was paid to him there too; And this appeared not only in his own Court of Equity in the Exchequer Chamber, but in the Chancery too, for thither he was often called to advise and assist the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper for the time being; and if the Cause were of difficult Examination, or intricated and entangled with variety of Settlements, no man ever shewed a more clear and discerning Judgment: If it were of great Value, and Great Persons interested in it, no man ever shewed greater Courage and Integrity in laying aside all respect of Persons: When he came to deliver his Opinion, he always put his Discourse into such a method, that one part of it gave light to the other and where the proceedings of Chancery might prove Inconvenient to the Subject, he never spared to observe and reprove them: And from his Observations and Discourses, the Chancery hath taken occasion to establish many of those Rules by which it Governs it self at this day.

He did look upon Equity as a part of the Common-Law, and one of the Grounds of it; and therefore as near as he could, he did always reduce it to certain Rules and Principles, that Men might Study it as a Science, and not think the Administration of it had any thing arbitrary in it, Thus eminent was this man in every Station, and into what Court soever he was call'd, he quickly made it ap-

pear, that he deserved the chief Seat there.

As great a Lawyer as he was he would never suffer the strictness of Law to prevail against Conscience, as great a Chancellor as he was, he would make use of all the Niceties and Subtilties in Law when it tended to support Right and Equity. But nothing was more admirable in him, than his Patience: He did not affect the Reputation of Quickness and Dispatch, by a hast and captious hearing of the Council: He would bear with the meanest, and gave every Man his full Scope, thinking it much better to lose Time than Patience: In summing up of an Evidence to a Jury, he would always require the Bar to interrupt him if he did mistake, and to put him in mind of it, if he did forget the least Circumstance; some Judges have been disturbed at this as a Rudeness, which he always looked upon as a Service and Respect done to him.

His whole Life was nothing else but a continual course of Labour and Industry, and when he could borrow any time from the publick Service, it was wholly employed either in Philosophical or Divine Meditations, and even that was a publick Service too as it hath proved; For they have occasioned his Writing of such Treatises, as are become the Choicest entertainment of wise and good Men, and the World hath reason to wish that more of them were Printed: He that considers the active part of his Life, and with what unwearyed Diligence and Application of Mind, he dispatched all Mens Business which came under his Care, will wonder how he could find any time for Contemplation: He that
considers

considers again the various Studies he past through, and the many Collections and Observations he hath made, may as justly wonder how he could find any time for Action: But no Man can wonder at the exemplary Piety and Innocence of such a life so spent as this was, wherein as he was careful to avoid every idle word, so 'tis manifest he never spent an idle day. They who come far short of this Great Man, will be apt enough to think that this is a Panegyrick, which indeed is a History, and but a little part of that History which was with great Truth to be related of him: Men who despair of attaining such perfection, are not willing to believe that any Man else did ever arrive at such a Height.

He was the greatest Lawyer of the Age, and might have had what Practice he pleased, but though he did most Conscientiously affect the labours of his Profession, yet at the same time, he despised the Gain of it, and of those profits which he would allow himself to receive, he always set apart a Tenth Penny for the Poor, which he ever dispensed with that secrecy, that they who were relieved, seldom or never knew their Benefactor: He took more pains to avoid the Honours and Preferments of the Gown, than others do to compass them. His Modesty was beyond all Example, for where some Men who never attain'd to half his Knowledge, have been puff'd up with a high conceit of themselves, and have affected all occasions of raising their own Esteem by depreciating other Men; He on the contrary was the most obliging Man that ever Practis'd: If a young Gentleman happened to be retain'd to argue a point

in Law, where he was on the contrary side, he would very often mend the Objections when he came to repeat them, and always Commend the Gentleman if there were room for it, and one good word for his was of more advantage to a young Man, than all the favour of the Court could be.

Having thus far pursued his History and Character, in the publick and exemplary parts of his Life, without interrupting the thread of the relation, with what was Private and Domestick, I shall conclude with a short account of these.

He was twice Married, his first Wife was *Anne* Daughter of *Sir Henry Moore*, of *Faly* in *Berkshire*, Grandchild to *Sir Francis Moore*, Serjeant at Law; by her he had Ten Children, the four first died young, the other six lived to be all Married; And he out-lived them all, except his eldest Daughter, and his youngest Son, who are yet alive.

His eldest Son *Robert* Married *Frances* the Daughter of *Sir Francis Chock*, of *Avington* in *Berkshire*, and they both dying in a little time one after another, left five Children, two Sons, *Matthew* and *Gabriel*, and three Daughters, *Anne*, *Mary*, and *Frances*, and by the Judges advice, they both made him their Executor, so he took his Grand-Children into his own Care, and among them he left his Estate.

His Second Son *Matthew*, Married *Anne* the Daughter of *Mr. Matthew Simmonds*, of *Hillsy*, in *Glocestershire*, who dyed soon after, and left one Son behind him named *Matthew*.

His

His third Son *Thomas*, Married *Rebekah* the Daughter of *Christian Le Brune*, a Dutch Merchant, and Died without Issue.

His fourth Son *Edward*, Married *Mary*, the Daughter of *Eamund Goodyere*, Esq; of *Heythorp*, in *Oxfordshire*, and still lives, he has two Sons, and three Daughters.

His eldest Daughter *Mary*, was Married to *Edward Alderley*, Son of *Edward Alderley*, of *Innisbannon*, in the County of *Cork* in *Ireland*, who dying, left her with two Sons, and three Daughters; she is since Married to *Edward Stephens*, Son to *Edward Stevens*, Esq; of *Cherington* in *Glostershire*. His youngest Daughter *Elizabeth*, was Married to *Edward Webb*, Esq; Barrister at Law, she Died, leaving two Children, a Son and a Daughter.

His second Wife was *Anne*, the Daughter of *Mr. Joseph Bishop*, of *Faly* in *Berkshire*, by whom he had no Children; He gives her a great Character in his Will, as a most dutiful, faithful, and loving Wife, and therefore trusted the breeding of his Grand-Children to her Care, and left her one of his Executors, to whom he joyned *Sir Robert Jenkinson*, and *Mr. Gibbon*. So much may suffice of those descended from him.

In after times, it is not to be doubted, but it will be reckoned no small Honour to derive from him; And this has made me more particular in reckoning up his Issue. I shall next give an account of the Issues of his Mind, his Books, that are either Printed, or remain in Manuscript;

script; for the last of these by his Will, he has forbid the Printing of any of them after his Death, except such as he should give order for in his Life; But he seems to have changed his mind afterwards and to have left it to the discretion of his Executors, which of them might be Printed; for though he does not express that, yet he ordered by a Codicil, *That if any Book of his Writing, as well touching the Common Law as other Subjects, should be Printed; then what should be given for the Consideration of the Copy, should be divided into Ten shares, of which he appointed Seven to go among his Servants, and Three to those who had Copied them out, and were to look after the Impression.* The reason, as I have understood it, that made him so unwilling to have any of his Works Printed after his Death, was; *That he apprehended in the Licensing them,* (which was necessary before any Book could be lawfully Printed, by a Law then in force, but since his Death determined) *some things might have been struck out or altered;* which he had observed not without some Indignation, had been done to a part of the *Reports*, of one whom he had much Esteemed.

This in matters of Law, he said, might prove to be of such mischievous Consequence, that he thereupon resolved none of his Writings, should be at the Mercy of Licensers; And therefore because he was not sure, that they should be published without Expurgations or Interpolations, he *forbid the Printing any of them;* in which he afterwards

wards made some Alteration, at least he gave occasion by his Codicil, to infer that he altered his mind.

This I have the more fully explained, that his last Will may be no way misunderstood, and that his worthy Excecutors, and his Hopeful Grand-Children, may not conclude themselves to be under an Indispensible obligation, of depriving the publick of his excellent Writings.

The Conclusion.

THUS lived and died Sir *Matthew Hale*, the *Renowned* Lord Chief Justice of *England*: He had one of the *blessings of Virtue* in the highest measure of any of the Age, that does not always follow it, which was, that he was *universally* much *valued* and *admired* by Men of *all sides* and *perswasions*. For as none could *hate* him but for his *Justice* and *Virtues*, so the *great estimation* he was generally in, made, that few durst undertake to *defend* so *ingrateful* a *Paradox*, as any thing said to *lessen* him would have appeared to be. His *Name* is scarce ever mentioned since his *Death*, without particular *accents* of singular *respect*. His *Opinion* in points of Law generally passes as an *uncontroulable Authority*,

thority, and is often pleaded in all the Courts of Justice: And all that knew him well, do still speak of him as one of the *perfectest patterns of Religion and Virtue* they ever saw.

The *Commendations* given him by all sorts of people are such, that I can hardly come under the *Censures* of this Age, for any thing I have said concerning him; yet if this Book lives to *aftertimes*, it will be looked on perhaps as a Picture, drawn more according to *Fancy and Invention*, than after the Life if it were not that those who knew him well, establishing its Credit in the present Age, will make it pass down to the *next* with a clearer Authority.

I shall pursue his *praise* no further in my own words, but shall add what the present Lord Chancellor of England said concerning him, when he delivered the Commission to the Lord Chief Justice Rainsford, who succeeded him in that Office, which he began in this manner.

The Vacancy of the Seat of the Chief Justice of this Court, and that by a way and means so unusual, as the Resignation of him, that lately held it, and this too proceeding from so deplorable a cause, as the infirmity of that Body, which began to forsake the ablest Mind that ever presided here, hath filled the Kingdom with Lamentations, and given the King many and pensive thoughts, how to supply that Vacancy again. And a little after speaking to his Successor, He said, The very Labours of the place, and that weight and fatigue of Business which attends it, are no
small

small discouragements; For what Shoulders may not justly fear that Burthen which made him stoop that went before you? Yet I confess you have a greater discouragement than the meer Burthen of your Place, and that is the unimitable Example of your last Predecessor: *Onerosum est succedere bono Principi*, was the saying of him in the Panegyrick; and you will find it so too that are to succeed such a Chief Justice, of so indefatigable an Industry, so invincible a Patience, so exemplary an Integrity, and so Magnanimous a contempt of Worldly things, without which no Man can be truly great; and to all this a Man that was so absolute a Master of the Science of the Law, and even of the most abstruse and hidden parts of it, that one may truly say of his knowledge in the Law, what St. Austin said of St. Hierom's knowledge in Divinity, *Quod Hieronymus nescivit, nullus mortalium unquam scivit*. And therefore the King would not suffer himself to part with so great a Man, till he had plac'd upon him all the marks of Bounty and Esteem, which his retired and weak Condition was capable of.

To this high Character, in which the expressions, as they well become the Eloquence of him who pronounced them, so they do agree exactly to the Subject, without the abatements that are often to be made Rhetorick; I shall add that part of the Lord Chief Justices answer in which he speaks of his Predecessor.

— A person in whom his eminent Virtues, and deep Learning, have long managed a contest
TAM for

for the Superiority, which is not decided to this day, nor will it ever be determined I suppose, which shall get the upper hand. A person that has sat in this Court these many Tears, of whose actions there I have been an eye and ear witness, that by the greatness of his learning always charmed his Auditors to reverence and attention: A person of whom I think I may boldly say, that as former times cannot shew any Superiour to him, so I am confident succeeding and future time will never shew any equal: These considerations heightned by what I have heard from your Lordship concerning him, made me anxious and doubtful, and put me to a stand, how I should succeed so able, so good and so great a Man: It doth very much trouble me, that I who in comparison of him am but like a Candle lighted in the Sunshine, or like a Glee-worm at mid-day, should succeed so great a Person, that is and will be so eminently famous to all Posterity: And I must ever wear this Motto in my breast to comfort me, and in my actions to excuse me,

Sequitur, quamvis non passibus æquis.

Thus were Panegyricks made upon him while yet alive, in that same Court of Justice which he had so worthily governed. As he was honoured while he lived, so he was much lamented when he died: And this will still be acknowledged as a just inscription for his Memory, though his modesty forbid any such to be put on his Tomb-stone.

THAT

THAT HE WAS ONE OF THE GREATEST PATTERNS THIS AGE HAS AFFORDED, WHETHER IN HIS PRIVATE DEPARTMENT AS A CHRISTIAN, OR IN HIS PUBLIC EMPLOYMENTS, EITHER AT THE BAR OR ON THE BENCH.

F I N I S.

A Catalogue of all his Books that are Printed, and are to be Sold by William Shrowsbury at the Sign of the Bible in Duke Lane.

1. **T**HE primitive Origination of Mankind, considered and examined according to the Light of Nature. Folio.
2. *Contemplations Moral and Divine, Part 1. Oct.*
3. *Contemplations Moral and Divine, part 2. Oct.*
4. *Difficiles Nuge, or Observations touching the Torricellian Experiment, and the various solutions of the same, especially touching the Weight and Elasticity of the Air. Octavo.*
5. *An Essay touching the Gravitation, or Non-Gravitation of fluid Bodies, and the Reasons thereof. Octavo.*
6. *Observations touching the Principles of natural Motions, and especially touching Rarefaction, and Condensation; together with a Reply to certain Remarks, touching the Gravitation of Fluids. Octavo.*

7. The

102 *The Life and Death of, &c.*

7. *The Life and Death of Pomponius Atticus*, written by his Contemporary and Acquaintance *Cornelius Nepos*, translated out of his Fragments; together with *Observations*, *Political*, and *Moral* thereupon. *Octavo*.
 8. *Pleas of the Crown*, or a *Methodical Summary* of the *principal matters* relating to that Subject. *Octavo*.
 9. *Traits on several Subjects*.
 10. *A short Treatise touching Sheriffs Accounts*, to which is added a *Trial of Witches*, at the *Affizes held at Bury St. Edmonds*, for the *County of Suffolk* 10th. of *March, 1664*. before the said *Sir Matthew Hale, Knight*.
 11. *Magnetismus Magnus*, or *Metaphysical and Divine Contemplations on the Magnet or Loadstone*.
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